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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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21 December 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Agrarian Daily Interviews USSR's Goldobenko (Anatolyi Goldobenko; ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME, 16 Nov 84)	1
Daily on Albanian Institute's Development (OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 21 Nov 84)	3
Briefs USSR's Talyzin Arrives	5

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Addresses Film Festival in Varna (Sofia Domestic Service, 22 Nov 84)	6
Dzhurov Attends Partisan Commemoration (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 24 Nov 84)	7
Zhivkov Letter Commemorates Partisan (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 24 Nov 84)	8
Briefs Foreign Economic Activity Discussed	9
Mongolian Ambassador's Anniversary Reception	9
Zhivkov Attends Gymnastics Performance	9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague Compares NATO, Pact Ministers Meetings (Prague Domestic Service, 5 Dec 84)	10
Proposed Austrian Danube Project Protested (PRAVDA, 28 Nov 84)	11
Daily Reviews Albania's Position, Future (ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY, 29 Nov 84)	13

Slovak Pacem in Terris Congress Opens (PRAVDA, 20 Nov 84)	15
Briefs	
Talks With Nicaraguan Delegation	18
Mali TU Cooperation	18
Hall Collapses	18
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Joint Declaration of GDR/CSSR Peace Activists (DIE PRESSE, 24-25 Nov 84)	19
Pros, Cons of Democratic Centralism Discussed (H. Schliwa; STAAT UND RECHT, No 10, Oct 84)	21
SED's Felpe Addresses Portuguese Workers Rally (Werner Felpe; AVANTE!, 22 Nov 84)	29
Official, Educators Defend Youth Paramilitary Training (Helena Kinnunen; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 7 Nov 84)	35
Briefs	
Christian Peace Conference Convenes	39
HUNGARY	
Conference About Situation of Intellectuals Evaluated (Zoltan Molnar; ELET ES IRODALOM, 26 Oct 84)	40
Purpose, Details of Law Against Economic Crimes (Attila Melykuti; MAGYAR NEMZET, 18 Oct 84)	43
POLAND	
Urban Comments on U.S. Presidential Election (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 12 Nov 84)	45
Statements Read at 17th Plenum (TRYBUNA LUDU, 1 Nov 84)	51
Party Official Comments on Aims, Instruments of Control (Jozef Oleksy Interview; DZIENNIK ZACHODNI, 12 Nov 84) ..	60
Poland To Reduce Diplomatic Representation in Lebanon (KUNA, 20 Nov 84)	64
Zanussi's Comments in Tygodnik Powszechny Criticized (Jan Brodzki; TRYBUNA LUDU, 17 Oct 84)	65
Members of KSS KOR Affiliated With Antistate Activities (Zdzislaw Morawski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 8 Nov 84)	69

State's Science Policy Fails With Young Scientists (Marek Z. Szczepanski; POLITYKA, No 42, 20 Oct 84)	72
Siwicki Addresses Young Armed Forces Inventors (Florian Siwicki; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 23 Nov 84)	76
Priest's Murder Viewed as Attempt To Discredit Government (POLITYKA, No 45, 10 Nov 84)	78
Opposition Comments on Investigation of Priest's Murder (Sandro Viola; LA REPUBBLICA, 20 Nov 84)	81
Unity, Motivation of Society Seen as Future Challenge (Jozef Lipiec; POLITYKA, No 43, 27 Oct 84)	83
Funeral Manifests Rights, Dignity of Nation (Tadeusz Szyma; TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 46, 11 Nov 84) ..	88
Ideas To Combat Alcoholism Presented (Ernest Skalski; TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 45, 4 Nov 84) ..	91
Student's Union Suffers From Low Membership (Piotr Gadzinowski; ITD, No 46, 11 Nov 84)	96

ROMANIA

Briefs	
Recognition of Catholic Leader	97
Release of Interior Official	97
Removal of Deputy Ministers	97
New People's Councils Officials	97
People's Councils Appointments	97

YUGOSLAVIA

Sukrija Interviewed on Cologne Radio (TANJUG, 27 Nov 84)	99
LC Plenum Speaker Denies Unitarianism (Slobodan Milosevic; Belgrade Domestic Service, 23 Nov 84)	100
Macedonia's Andreevski on Bulgaria's Pretensions (TANJUG, 26 Nov 84)	101
Ribicic Holds Talks With Mexican Party Delegation (TANJUG Domestic Service, 26 Nov 84)	102
Djuranovic, Planinc Receive Telegrams From Foreign Leaders (TANJUG, 28 Nov 84)	103
Ideological Work Conference Held in Croatia (POLITIKA, 15 Nov 84)	105

Daily Reports Belgrade University Cafeteria Boycott (Vesna Peruncic; VJESNIK, 25 Nov 84)	107
General Nadj Opposes Spanish Veterans' Letter (TANJUG Domestic Service, 24 Nov 84)	108
Assembly of Orthodox Clergy Held in Belgrade (TANJUG Domestic Service, 27 Nov 84)	109
Federal Social Council Displays Differences (Lj. Zorkic; POLITIKA, 16 Nov 84)	110
Radman Discusses Decline of Youth League After 1968 (Goran Radman Interview; DANAS, 30 Oct 84)	111
Briefs	
Grlickov Meets With 'Arafat	120
TANJUG Editor for Science	120

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AGRARIAN DAILY INTERVIEWS USSR'S GOLDOBENKO

AU192202 Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 16 Nov 84 p 4

[Statement by Anatolyi Goldobenko, deputy minister of the USSR Maritime Fleet to the daily ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME--time and place of the statement not given]

[Text] Statistical data issued by the CEMA Permanent Committee on Transport indicate that the structure of freight transport is persistently shifting toward maritime transport. This fact also applies to bilateral relations between Bulgaria and the USSR in the aforementioned sector. The overwhelming share of our exchange of goods is taking place on the water--coal, ore, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, timber, fertilizers, oil, and petrochemical products, as well as equipment and machines are transported from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria, while other machines, equipment, canned and fresh fruit and vegetables, as well as calcinated soda, alcoholic drinks, tobacco, and others--are being shipped over from Bulgaria to the USSR.

Since 1963 a regular joint shipping line has been operating between the Soviet ports of Ilichovski, Odessa, Kherson, Belograd-Dnestrovskiy, and the Bulgarian ports of Varna and Burgas. The Varna-Ilichovsk ferryboat line, established in 1978, has become a demonstration of the close economic cooperation and stable economic relations between the two countries. This ferryboat line is one of the largest projects of socialist economic integration. In 1983 alone it has undertaken shipping transport amounting to 3,011,000 tons of freight. The perfection of the ferryboat line continues, the technology of loading and unloading processes is being steadily improved and the transportation time is being reduced.

The joint Soviet-Bulgarian shipping agency established in 1976 under the name of Dunaytrans, and whose main task is to further develop river transport on the Danube, is operating successfully.

A long-term plan has been worked out for the further consolidation and expansion of the material-technical base of freight transport, which envisages the considerable improvement and modernization of the shipping equipment, as well as the storage facilities, and ports.

Scientific-technical cooperation in the maritime transport sector is developing successfully. Soviet and Bulgarian scientific-research organizations

are working on numerous important problems, such as the perfection of the technical exploitation of the maritime fleet and the technology of ship repair, the development of container and package transport between the ports of the two countries, and the most thrifty utilization of transportation means for these freight transports, preservation of the seas from pollution, as well as analysis of commercial and legal questions in the work of the maritime fleets in the open ocean.

CSO: 2200/51

DAILY ON ALBANIAN INSTITUTE'S DEVELOPMENT

AU241524 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Nov 84 p 6

[Unsigned article: "Research With High Economic Results. Interesting Elaborations at the Institute for New Technologies in Experimenting with Metals"]

[Text] Tirana--own report. The creation of new branches in the light and heavy industries in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is directly linked with the specialization of the scientific-research institutes. Also among them is the Institute for Researching and Designing New Technologies in the Processing of Metals.

This institute resolves long-term problems linked with improving the technical and technological production indexes. On the basis of the factories for ore mining already built and those under construction, elaborations are underway in order to modernize individual production processes. The designs of three modern chrome-dressing factories are being worked out at present; construction is expected to begin soon.

After carefully analyzing the features of the minerals in each deposit, the institute carries out special research work. Along with the technological designs, construction designs of appropriate electric and heating-ventilation installations for each project are also being drawn up, which are at a high technological and economic level. Certain of the problems involved in this are to be solved by the institute in cooperation with other scientific institutes. Thus, in cooperation with the Institute for Research and Design in Machinebuilding in Tirana, for example, technical and technological data for the equipment of certain machine projects have been worked out.

An essential aspect of the institute's activity is to render assistance to increase the effectiveness of already existing capacities in the processing industry. In the copper-dressing factories technological schemes are used which are contributing to the comprehensive utilization of the ore. Where one could previously extract only copper from a mine, it can now produce copper, zinc and pyrites, which are widely used in the national economy. A scheme for recycling water in the chrome-dressing factories which need great quantities of water is also ready. This has reduced the consumption of water three-fold.

The exploitation of new mineral deposits opened to the institute good new prospects for broad scientific-research and design work.

The importance of the institute for the national economy is constantly increasing. It expands its activity in the field of research and design concerning minerals such as feldspar, barite, magnetite, phosphorite, titanium-magnetite and so forth.

CSO: 2200/51

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

USSR'S TALYZIN ARRIVES--A Soviet delegation arrived in Prague from Moscow today for the 25th session of the intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The delegation is headed by Nikolay Talyzin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. At Ruzyne Airport the guests were welcomed by Federal Vice Premier Rudolf Rohlicek and other officials. [Text] [LD031535 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 3 Dec 84]

CSO: 2400/147

ZHIVKOV ADDRESSES FILM FESTIVAL IN VARNA

AU222010 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 84

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov in Varna today met eminent figures from the film world who are participating in the 18th national Bulgarian dramatic film festival. Comrades Georgi Yordanov and Stoyan Mikhaylov, were also present. Georgi Stoyanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Film Workers Union, emphasized that these traditional meetings have become a dialogue of the party with the workers of our national cinema which is contributing high and clear ideological and artistic criteria to the development of our cinematic art.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov who was particularly cordially welcomed, delivered a speech. On behalf of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee, he most cordially congratulated the creators of the Bulgarian socialist cinema. After emphasizing the tremendous successes achieved in all spheres by Bulgarian culture, Comrade Todor Zhivkov noted that during the year when the 40th anniversary of the Bulgarian socialist revolution is being celebrated, the 18th Bulgarian dramatic film festival marks a turning point into its qualitative development, particularly in mastering the contemporary (?theme). He noted that the positive processes in the Bulgarian cinema have to be accelerated so that the constantly growing spiritual needs of the builders of a developed socialist society could be met. Comrade Todor Zhivkov also spoke about the growing responsibility of the artists under the aggravated international situation.

On behalf of the creators of the Bulgarian film artists, and Borislav Sharaliev, a people's artist, stated that they would apply all strengths, talents and skills in the service of socialist cinematic art, as well as for the further comprehensive prosperity of our socialist motherland.

CSO: 2200/51

DZHUROV ATTENDS PARTISAN COMMEMORATION

AU261244 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] Churek Village, Sofia Okrug 23 November (report by Sofia Okrug RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent)--In the heroic history of the "Chavdar" partisan brigade Todor Dachev Stefcho a former deputy commander of the brigade, is remembered as a courageous and worthy communist. A festive meeting was held here on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, former commander of the brigade, unveiled a monument to the loyal son of the people and party in the central square of his native village. Nikolay Dyulgerov, first secretary of Sofia Okrug BCP Committee, read a letter from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council to the participants in the meeting. The letter was heard with great attention and accompanied by prolonged applause.

Todor Dachev's life and activities were entirely devoted to the struggle for implementing the bright communist ideals, to the people's happier future, Comrade Dobri Dzhurov pointed out in his speech. Todor Dachev joined the "Chavdar" brigade on 9 September 1942, precisely, to complete his 2-year career as a partisan, subsequently becoming commander of a detachment, commander of a battalion, and deputy commander of the brigade. He was one of the iron-strong fighters, who passed through the merciless battles of numerous partisan actions and combats, in which he displayed his talents as a courageous fighter and gifted commander. With his characteristic modesty, with his selfless devotion, ardent enthusiasm, and daring, he worked also after the victory as an employee in the organs of the Ministry of Interior, as an officer and general of the Bulgarian People's Army, where he contributed to the construction of socialism in our motherland, the speaker stressed.

Numerous wreaths and flowers were laid at Todor Dachev's monument as a sign of recognition and gratitude to his memory.

CSO: 2200/51

ZHIVKOV LETTER COMMEMORATES PARTISAN

AU261325 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 24 November 1984 carries on page 2, an 800-word report datelined Kyustendil on a festive meeting to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the birth of Colonel Vasil Demirevski, former secretary of the underground regional BCP Committee of the area and participant in the partisan struggle, as commander of the Rila-Pirin detachment. Some 600 words of the report are taken up with a report on Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, read a 60-word letter from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council to the participants: which is read by Kiril Zre Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Todor Zhivkov describes the life and career of Vasil Demirevski, known under the cover name of Zhelyu, as an outstanding revolutionary, member of the Young Communist Workers Organization since his early youth, and partisan commander.

In dwelling on Demirevski's activities as a partisan, Zhivkov points out his "qualities as a skilled strategist, as a persevering and perceptive people's commander, ready for self-sacrifice, full of charisma and numerous talents." Zhivkov enumerates various exploits of the partisan struggle preceding 9 September 1944 and recalls Demirevski's "heroic death" on 30 October 1944 during combat on the Yastreebets mountain peak.

Zhivkov closes his letter by stating that "the cause for which Vasil Demirevski--Zhelyu--sacrificed his young life is victorious in our country today. I am convinced that the working people in Zhelyu's native region will not spare their efforts devoted to our people's happiness and well-being, as well as to Bulgaria's prosperity."

CSO: 2200/51

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY DISCUSSED--The National Assembly Permanent Commission for Foreign Affairs today heard a report on Bulgaria's foreign economic activity tasks deriving from the summit conference of the CEMA member-countries held in Moscow. Comrade Andrey Lukanov read the report. The following National Assembly deputies took the floor: Dimitur Stanishev, Lyuben Kulishev, Petur Vutov, and Angel Dimitrov. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 23 Nov 84]

MONGOLIAN AMBASSADOR'S ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION--On 27 November [name indistinct], Mongolian ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception in the hall of the embassy on the 60th anniversary of the Third Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic. The reception was attended by Comrades Yordan Yotov, Petur Tanchev, Stanish Bonev, Dimitur Stanishev; members of the State Council; BCP Central Committee Department heads; members of the government; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; deputy ministers; and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited to Sofia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 27 Nov 84]

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS GYMNASTICS PERFORMANCE--On 28 November at Sofia's Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture, a gala gymnasts' performance took place, at which the female Bulgarian gymnasts, European champions in rhythmic gymnastics, took part. The following comrades attended the performance: Todor Zhivkov, Yordan Yotov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Atanasov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, and Kiril Zarev; deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers; members of the government; and other party and state leaders. [Excerpt] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 84]

CSO: 2200/51

PRAGUE COMPARES NATO, PACT MINISTERS MEETINGS

LD060949 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Dec 84

[Text] Michal Staszl, our New York correspondent, reports on the reaction of the American press to the meeting of foreign ministers of the NATO member states and the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact nations.

[Stasz] Reports on the results of the ministers talks in Berlin and Brussels best express the fundamental difference between the goals of both groupings. The NEW YORK TIMES heads the results of the Warsaw Pact Ministers' talks: Ministers' Meeting Calls for Detente.

On the same page, under the title NATO Agrees to Increase Arming, it writes about the talks of the NATO defense ministers. Even the daily of the American bourgeoisie, the NEW YORK TIMES cannot mask the true principle of the existence of the Warsaw Pact, the defense- and peace-loving character of which has been proved by history.

As the paper states, the meeting of the socialist countries' ministers in Berlin called for a return to detente and cooperation between states. They emphasize that there are possibilities for improving the international situation. In stark contrast with this, the report about the meeting of the NATO defense ministers states that they approved \$7.85 billion for the construction of new military apparatuses and for rectifying the so-called lack of ammunition. Both are the result of pressure from the United States which does not stop pressing the other member states of the pact to increase the tempo of their armament and finance plans for the deployment of new American weapons.

Even though the NEW YORK TIMES does not comment on the results of the ministers' talks in Berlin and in Brussels, it is clear from the placing of both reports on the same page and from their formulation that even in the United States not everyone is overjoyed at the prospect of further increase in arming and tension which is planned by the present government.

CSO: 2400/146

PROTESTS PROPOSED AUSTRIAN DANUBE PROJECT

AU291355 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 84 p 7

[CTK report: "The CSSR Position On the Proposed Construction of the Hainburg Water Project"]

[Text] Prague--Journalists were briefed at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday on the CSSR's position on the expected negative influence of the Hainburg water project in Austria on the border sections of the rivers Danube and Morava and on the adjacent territory of the CSSR.

According to the statement of a delegation of the Republic of Austria, delivered at the meeting of government delegations of the two states in Bratislava on 2 November, the Austrian side is preparing the construction of the Hainburg water project on the Austrian section of the Danube as a replacement for the joint Czechoslovak-Austrian Wolfstal-Bratislava water project.

On the basis of an assessment of available information, Czechoslovak experts have ascertained that the Hainburg water project will have serious adverse effects on the border sections of the rivers Danube and Morava and on adjacent CSSR territory. The Czechoslovak delegation informed the Austrian delegation about them.

The construction of the Hainburg water project constitutes a one-sided solution by the Austrian side, which violates the hitherto tried and tested conception of comprehensive use of the Danube, based on the work of the Danube Commission. The construction of the Hainburg water project also will damage the construction measures that have been carried out by the Czechoslovak side since 1957 in the adjacent sections of the Rivers Danube and Morava and on CSSR territory.

The new project will prevent the creation of a continuous series of water projects at different levels in this section that would make it possible to make full use of the hydroenergy potential of the Czechoslovak-Austrian section of the Danube. In addition, conditions for navigation in accordance with the recommendations of the Danube Commission (3.5 meters depth) will not be created.

According to the Czechoslovak experts' preliminary results, the construction of the Hainburg project will have a substantial adverse effect on the water conservancy situation in the border areas of the Danube and Morava and on CSSR territory. Above all, it is expected that the Danube channel below Hainburg will be substantially deepened and that the water levels of the Danube and Morava will decrease. As a result Czechoslovak interests will be harmed.

The Hainburg water project will make it impossible to use the Czechoslovak share of the hydroenergy potential of the joint section of the Danube. The project will even use its part. The lowering of the water level of the Danube in the area of its confluence with the Morava will disturb the ecological status quo, the banks and river regulatory work, and it will even cause a decline of the Austrian sources of drinking water along a wide area of the rivers Morava and Danube. Because of the alteration of the level of the Danube water course in the section of Bratislava, there will be an increased danger of flooding in the capital of the Slovak Socialist Republic. By changing the longitudinal slant of the Danube channel with the expected exposure of the rocky threshold at Devin, the navigational conditions on an international waterway will deteriorate.

The Czechoslovak side demands that the Austrian side provide the Czechoslovak side with the basic technological data necessary to assess the effect of the Hainburg water project on Czechoslovak territory and the border sections of the Danube and Morava. The problem of the utilization of the joint Czechoslovak-Austrian section of the Danube is the subject of great interest to the Czechoslovak general public and must, therefore, be evaluated in all contexts with the appropriate conclusiveness.

The Czechoslovak side draws the Austrian side's attention to the fact that if the Hainburg water project is built it will demand compensation for any damage caused. The budget for the Hainburg project will have to include the investment expenditure required to carry out the measures to eliminate the adverse effects arising for the CSSR from the construction of the Hainburg water project.

The Czechoslovak side demands that, prior to the decision to commence the construction of the Hainburg water project, the solution of these problems be established in a contractual document.

CSO: 2400/146

DAILY REVIEWS ALBANIA'S POSITION, FUTURE

AU031910 Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Nov 84 p 2

["vT"-signed commentary: "On Albania's Birthday"]

[Excerpts] The Albanian peoples will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of their beautiful fatherland on Thursday 29 November. The day of the victory of the revolution in 1944 was preceded by almost 6 years of fighting against the fascist invaders--first the Italian invaders, and then, from September 1944 on, the German ones.

A historical retrospective on the most significant date in the life of Albania should remind us of the complicated and difficult path of the small Albanian nation (today less than 3 million strong) toward freedom and independence. It is regrettable that the further development of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was not as straightforward as was promised by the first years of its close cooperation with the other socialist states of Europe. Albania's gradual isolation, caused by the unrealistic appraisal of international relations and by a series of dogmatic errors of the Tirana leadership of those times, has hampered the country's comprehensive development, caused it economic problems, and complicated the situation in the Balkans. One cannot but see that Albania, while being a relatively small country, still has an important place on the geopolitical European stage. We know of no rational reason why it should stand apart from current events, in the direction of which the country itself should be vitally interested.

Its internal political arrangement is self-evidently the sovereign concern of the Albanian people. In the socialist countries Albania has friends who are prepared to expand, above all, the economic and cultural contacts with the country. This would be mutually beneficial. Contrary to what is generally believed, Albania is not a completely poor country--it has at its disposal rich resources of raw materials; however, so far these are being only less than 50 percent utilized. The disinterested cooperation which is offered to it by the industrially developed CEMA member countries, including Czechoslovakia, would undoubtedly facilitate the current phase of Albania's economic plans which, as we understand from brief press reports, are constantly encountering serious obstacles.

The 40 years of new Albania have not always been an easy sail in the calm gulf of the Adriatic Sea. The reasons are well known; and it is right to learn from them--but it is unnecessary to constantly revert to the past. On Albania alone, on its people and on their government, will depend how they arrange for and ensure in the coming years a reliable future in an independent, prospering, and really socialist state.

CSO: 2400/146

SLOVAK PACEM IN TERRIS CONGRESS OPENS

AU211301 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 November carries on pages 1 and 2 a 2,500-word, Bratislava-dated CTK report, entitled "Loyal to the People and the Socialist Fatherland; the Third Congress of the Pacem in Terris of the Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR) Begins." After dealing with the opening of the congress, which is said to be attended by 200 delegates, and with the paper read by Milan Medek, deputy chairman of the Slovak association and director of the St Adalbert Society (covered by the referent item), CTK reports on other greetings messages read by Jozef Feranec, bishop of Banska Bystrica and chairman of the Corps of Slovakia's Diocesan Bishops; by Vaclav Javurek, dean of the Kralove Hradec Chapter and chairman of the Pacem in Terris association of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR]; and by Jural Cuth, chairman of the Slovak Peace Council, who is said to have "appraised the share of the Pacem in Terris association in supporting and implementing the peace policy of our socialist state and of the world peace movement."

CTK states that the association's "activity is contributing toward establishing good relations and mutual cooperation between the socialist state and the church in fulfilling the construction program of the National Front and in the common battle for achieving peace in the world."

CTK then quotes at length from the speech delivered by Miroslav Valek, Czech minister of culture, who conveyed the greetings of Gustav Husak. "The top representative of our state and the members of all elected bodies are vividly interested in the results of your everyday work and they are attentively following your present deliberations," Valek says: "If the present proves that the endeavors of your association are taking the correct line, then--we are convinced--the future will underscore yet more significantly the importance of your work and the significance of your goals, and emphasize your share in their achievement."

After noting that the CSSR is currently commemorating the sad and heroic events of World War II, Valek states that the clergy that participates in the active struggle for peace and in the program of the Pacem in Terris association "provides an example not only for young believers but also for the rest of the clergy."

Valek then recapitulates the achievements of the last 40 years in the CSSR, and states that "in order to establish favorable conditions for working out the 1985 plan and the Eighth 5-Year Plan, we will have to further organize work with greater efficiency, eliminate superfluous middle management links, and

look for further attractive forms of cooperation between science and practice." "The realization of the task and goals of our society," he then goes on to say, "is connected with the current international situation. Tension and uncertainty continue to reign in it. The stand adopted by the Soviet Union, by our government, and by other socialist countries is unanimous: We must seek and find ways out of the blind alley, at the end of which lies nothing but nuclear catastrophe. The community of socialist countries has become an untiring center of peace efforts and initiatives. Deplorably, the policy of the military-industrial complex of the United States and the NATO countries is oriented toward escalating international tension, modernizing and deploying tactical arms, and militarizing space. Imperialism, historically doomed, is striving to pose the issue of its existence or nonexistence as the issue of the existence or nonexistence of all life on earth; and it is not loath to shift the responsibility for the solution of so-called American interests to the whole of mankind. Imperialism does not like the idea that it should bear responsibility for what it is preparing for mankind. There is more than enough proof of imperialism's doing everything to make the earth revolve increasingly according to Washington time. The most reactionary forces of international imperialism are also striving to misuse churches and religion, using them as tools for achieving their goals and for weakening and disintegrating socialism. Meddling in the internal affairs of our state and of other socialist states is also evident: Imperialism supports the forces of political clericalism and incites the emergence and activity of illegal church structures. And these circles, and also the right-wing clergy circles, are more and more intensively joining the crusade campaign against social justice and socialist humanism.

"The religious organizations in the socialist states can effectively help consolidate the believers' minds in the defense of life and in the battle against a nuclear catastrophe, and thus establish the guarantee for the engagement of churches and religious representatives in the world struggle for peace. The churches and religious societies in our country are playing a considerable part in this noble effort. They proceed in this from a realistic view of the situation in the world and in our own country, as well as from their identification with the foreign policy of our state, based on the principles of peaceful cooperation. Apart from other things, this is also testified by the deliberations of church representatives, bishops, clergy, and laymen workers of the churches and religious societies, more than 700 of whom had assembled last December in the Palace of Culture in Prague under the slogan 'Jointly for Peace and Life for Today and Tomorrow.' A weighty item in this activity was the establishment of a joint committee which coordinates the peace activities of churches in Czechoslovakia. This has established a possibility for our believers, represented by church representatives, to be able to influence international church events in the issues of peace.

"Another proof of the peace involvement of the clergy in our country," Valek continues, "are the stances and the present work of progressive patriotic clergymen, the activity of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy, as well as the stand adopted by the bishops in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] on the further existence and activity of this association on 1 October 1984.

"The significance of the association's peace work is demonstrated by its irreplaceable share in the preparations and course of the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War, as well as in its work in the Council of

Church and Religious Representatives in the CSSR; in the regional Association of the Christian Peace Conference; and in the Berlin Conference of European Catholics. We also attribute extraordinary significance to the association's contacts with the peace organizations and movements abroad, particularly in the socialist countries, and above all with the Committee of Religious Figures of the USSR, which had prepared in Moscow the international conference entitled: "Religious Figures of the World in the Fight Against a Nuclear Catastrophe"; a delegation of your association also took part in its deliberations.

"We appreciate the fact," Valek then says, "that your association is participating in an irreplaceable way in establishing positive relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in the CSSR. Thanks to this, too, it is winning the support of many diocesan bishops. We are glad that the association's authority is growing in these church circles abroad which orient their programs toward the fight for peace.

"Despite the misunderstandings around the interpretation of the declaration issued on 8 March 1982 by the Congregation of the Clergy, and despite the moral pressure, and even the ban forbidding the clergy from supporting the association, you have proved by your determination that you have enough strength to consolidate and develop your endeavors--and to do this even under more complicated, more demanding conditions."

After saying that the congress should assess its work according to the criteria of the interests of the Czechoslovak working people, Valek continues: "As regards the relations between the state and the church, relations toward believers and toward the Roman Catholic Church and The Vatican, their development in the recent period was not simple. However, certain problems could be resolved, also thanks to the Pacem in Terris association. The solution of other problems, too, is not without prospects--but, of course, only if bilateral interests are respected. Likewise, as regards the conditions of work in our country for the Roman Catholic clergy, it would not be right to halt at the results achieved. Much must be, and can be, improved. This follows from the very principles of the state's relations with the churches and believers, and from the state's willingness not to evade the solution of issues."

Valek then elaborates on the imperative task to save civilization from a nuclear war, notes that the world peace movement is getting increasingly stronger despite the intimidation and ruthlessness of imperialism, and quotes Gustav Husak on the issue.

"Our state sincerely respects all those who courageously oppose the gambling policy of the military forces," he continues. "It respects all those who are efficiently assisting the peace policy of our state and its efforts, which are aimed at the security and peaceful life of our peoples. It appreciates the meritorious work achieved in the past and at present by the Pacem in Terris association out of love for its people and its fatherland. It appreciates the work that is inspired by the ethically extremely demanding and weighty ideals of social justice, national alliance, cooperation, and human dignity. Permit me," Valek says, "to thank the clergymen of the Pacem in Terris association in the SSR and the association's functionaries for such involvement." Valek concludes by assuring the assembled of all-round support for its endeavors and work.

BRIEFS

TALKS WITH NICARAGUAN DELEGATION--A delegation of the Nicaraguan Republic headed by Henry Ruiz Hernandez, member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front leadership and Minister of Planning, has arrived in Czechoslovakia to discuss topical questions concerning economic cooperation between both countries. At the talks, which opened in Prague today, the Czechoslovak delegation is headed by Minister Vladimir Janza, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission. [Text] [LD031541 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 3 Dec 84]

MALI TU COOPERATION--Prague, 29 Nov (CTK)--Secretary of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions Viliam Kozik and head of the delegation of the National Union of the Workers of Mali Mamadou Sourakhe Bathily signed here today a plan of cooperation between the two countries' trade union centres. During the talks, the Czechoslovak trade union official stressed the importance of the visit and the document which will contribute to promotion of relations between the two countries' trade unions. The head of the Malian delegation emphasized common views of both sides on the basic topics of the international trade union movement and the situation in the world, and thanked for solidarity with the working people of Mali expressed by Czechoslovak trade unionists. [Text] [LD300439 Prague CTK in English 1643 GMT 29 Nov 84]

HALL COLLAPSES, 16 DEAD--A part of the production hall of the Mesit enterprise in Uherske Hradiste collapsed on 23 November, killing 16 and injuring 43 employees. One person remained unaccounted for by 26 November. [Summary] [AU281035 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 84 p 2]

CSO: 2400/146

JOINT DECLARATION OF GDR/CSSR PEACE ACTIVISTS

AU261443 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24-25 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] The independent peace groups in the East European states have been working to get into contact with each other for months. This week activists from the CSSR and the GDR succeeded in finding a joint basis. The contents of their declaration reads as follows:

One year ago new Soviet nuclear missiles were deployed in our countries. This step was to contribute to balance the nuclear forces of the super-powers. In the official justification it is stated that peace has become more secure. But in reality peace has been endangered even more and the military arms race has been continued. This charge applies to all states that are preparing for a world war, threatening their neighbors, and very often issue commands to their own people but do not let them participate in deciding vital questions. Not only have our two countries become a launching pad for missiles, but also the probability that the GDR and Czechoslovakia may become targets of a nuclear operation has increased.

One year after the deployment of these missiles we again protest against this step. Here we feel linked with the peace movements of the West that are organizing the resistance against militarism and nuclear armament in their countries. In our view a first and important step could be: no nuclear missiles in Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic. Together with the Polish, Soviet, and Hungarian peace groups, we are convinced that nuclear armament is not the reason for the present international crisis. The present situation developed as a result of pursuing a policy of power, that is, the implementation of one's own, often egoistic interests.

He who thinks in terms of "blocks" and enmity prevents an honest dialogue. He who accepts or even increases social injustice is responsible for hunger and poverty. He who encroaches upon the dignity of the individual human being and does not guarantee freedom of opinion also wants to solve national and international problems by way of force. Peace is inseparably linked with adhering to and struggling for all human rights. We want

to live in an open society that is friendly to man. The path toward it does not lead through barracks, a polluted environment, and missile launching pads.

The signatories of this declaration, Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans from the GDR, want to document affinity and cooperation. This cooperation can be prevented neither by resentments due to historical reasons nor by any political police. We are above all linked by the wish for true peace in Europe, for military disarmament throughout the world.

We ask all independent peace movements to join our declaration.

CSO: 2300/141

PROS, CONS OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM DISCUSSED

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 33 No 10, Oct 84 pp 779-787

[Article by H. Schliwa: "Democracy and Freedom for the Workers"]

[Text] The consciousness of the social and personal freedom achieved as well as the unprecedented quality of this freedom occupies a central place in the ideological self-interpretation of the socialist society and its members. Experiences of ideological work teach us that understanding of the socialist notion of freedom and democracy as well as its practical realization represent an enormous challenge to ideological knowledge. We tend all too often to underestimate the historic meaning of our hard won achievements, simply because it is already taken for granted and no longer measured by historic criteria. At the same time, the accomplishment of many tasks in the implementation of the SED's economic and social policy is intimately tied to the deepening of socialist freedom and democracy, and this requires the corresponding ideological consciousness.

The fundamental feature of freedom in socialism--radiating to all sides--consists in the unprecedented relationship between the purpose, the objectives of man's economic activities and the actually achieved results. This new relationship is reflected in the plan-likeness of economic development on the national level and in the fact that the needs of the working people are the starting point, purpose and objective of planning.

The plan-likeness of economic development demonstrates the possibility that the social causes set in motion by live and embodied labor may increasingly have the economic, social and total societal effects desired by the working people. The value of this achievement can be fully appreciated only when we recall that, before the working class, no ruling class before has been able to banish spontaneity from social processes. The decisive historic fact effecting the leap of a society from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, is the creation of such economic, political and intellectual conditions as will enable the working people to stop being the plaything of spontaneously acting forces.

Though the bourgeoisie's struggle for freedom earned it political power and, therefore, strengthened its economic power, it was unable to abolish the spontaneity of the social process, the anarchic course of economic development.

On the contrary, by its crises, rivalries, the wars caused by them, capitalism lifted the spontaneous nature of social processes to unprecedented dimensions. An insoluble contradiction persists between the economic, political and intellectual power of monopoly capital on the one hand and its powerlessness when confronted with capitalism's laws of economic movements on the other.

Socialism's replacement of social spontaneity by planning has far reaching social consequences. Properly applied, it guarantees the generally rapid and smooth-flowing development of all sectors of society and moreover, provides each individual a socially secure working life and the opportunity to shape his own life on the basis of stable social conditions and optimistic expectations. It is possible to a certain extent to plan many important aspects of the life of the individual, such as professional development, starting a family, social activism, the acquisition of skills, the organization of one's own lifestyle. In these social conditions, it is increasingly up to the individual how to use his social and biological potential for developing his personality. However much we must remember that concrete-historic limits are inherent in these social conditions, we should certainly not fail to appreciate the qualitatively new features by comparison with earlier social systems: The individual has far more opportunities himself to write the "scenario" of his biography. Socialism has abolished such social insecurities and threats to personal life as unemployment, crises, loss of social security, extreme social inequalities, and so on. This shows that the extent of social and personal freedom is largely revealed by the standard of social security.

In this context, it is indeed a revelation to observe how the capitalist system uses demagogy to allege that the loss of social security benefits in the capitalist countries with the strongest economies, speeded-up as a consequence of rearmament, signals the recovery of personal freedom. The "social safety net" is said to have resulted in the domestication of man, loss of independence, fear of risks, reliance on the state, the loss of initiative and of the will to make decisions. At the time of plenty, when capital had greater social scope due to extra profits, and when the working class had succeeded in wresting from it greater social benefits, the situation was interpreted quite otherwise. These achievements were then celebrated as the "free social state," the realization of the social objectives of the working class within capitalism turned humane. The present frank profession of elbow room as the ideal of human freedom means more than turning necessity into a virtue. Cultivated once again is that bourgeois interpretation of freedom, that had arisen on the soil of early capitalism. Marx described it as an absurdity to consider free competition the ultimate development of human freedom and characterized this type of individual freedom as the "most complete abolition of all individual freedom and the complete subjection of individuality to social conditions which assume the shape of material powers, indeed of overwhelming material factors..."¹ The insecurity of the personal life situation of the working people is a direct consequence of social spontaneity. When bourgeois ideologues define as the expression of human freedom the struggle for elementary conditions of individual life, the exacerbated competition between wage earners, this merely confirms the Marxist-Leninist perception that the essential features of capitalism have been preserved despite its undeniable historic changes. It is not surprising, therefore, that FRG labor union leaders have for some time now diagnosed the similarity between the present situation and early capitalist manifestations.

The plan-likeness or the economic and total societal development in socialism is a triumph that was not won without difficulty. The planned economy needed to be created in the conditions of a fierce class conflict, within open borders and under the pressure of old-established economic disproportions. In the course of this process we had to pay dearly for experience, and new solutions needed to be found over and over again. At the present time it is imperative to deal with the challenges presented by the higher level of the socialization of production and labor and the requirements of intensification. The establishment and consolidation of the combines, the perfection of management, planning, economic accounting and other measures help us acquire mastery of the socialization process at a time when the nature of economic growth has changed and will continue to do so as a consequence of intensively expanded reproduction. This is a revolutionary and portentous step toward the further development of social freedom, because both the skilled mastery of socialization and its preservation in changed conditions represent the most important feature of genuine freedom.

Socialism did more than create the appropriate economic structures and methods for its planned development. It also provided the proper political conditions, the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the entire political organization by establishing the socialist state, its organizations, institutions, legal and administrative rules, with democratic centralism as the management principle adequate for achieving all this. Mastery of socialization by plan-likeness is not restricted to economic processes nor is it a gift to the masses from a central planning authority. It must be realized in the historic conditions of socialism and the international conflict with imperialism, politically and by the genuine democratic activism of the working people, led by the working class and its party.

One of the toughest problems to be solved when we began the socialist construction was that of finding a management principle that would respond both to the needs of the conscious organization of the national economy and society as a whole and allow the masses to cooperate in these proceedings. By implementing democratic centralism, the Bolsheviks--led by Lenin--the CPSU and the other parties in the socialist countries found a principle and successfully applied it, by which it was possible to dialectically deal with two needs arising--so to speak--from the socialist socialization process. This is first of all the need for a democratically authorized total societal will, the mandatory effect of social interests, the central observance of "a direction reflecting the harmony of individual actions and carrying out the general functions generated by the movement of the productive total worker in contrast to the movement of his independent organs";² and, secondly, the necessity for the producers to collaborate and control the choice of management cadres and in central resolutions and decisions, make prevail collective and individual interests and creatively transfer to the local level and there implement all central management and planning decisions. Both these needs mutually impose themselves on one another. If they are not met, disruptions arise in the planned development, social motive forces are squandered or even social conflicts precipitated.

The proper application of democratic centralism also and decisively reflects essential aspects of the dialectic of social and personal freedom in socialism. Social management and planning opens up social influences to the democratic activism of collectives and personalities, links them with historic necessities

and produces coincidence with social interests. It also makes it possible ideologically to solidify mass and individual experiences and perceptions gained in the realization of social freedom and, subsequently, reconvey them to the individual as an ideological orientation.

The high level of the socialization of production and labor achieved, the greater interdependence of social sectors, the challenging social performance requirements on the collectives and each individual, the speed of economic processes, the economic utilization of scientific-technological progress and other factors require better organization, discipline and loyalty to the resolutions adopted. Does this mean a limitation on the initiative, the working people's opportunities for cooperation and their potential for creative activism? Is the doubtlessly increasing importance of professional management and the corresponding special qualifications necessarily coupled with an objective restriction on the democratic cooperation opportunities of the members of the respective collectives? These are questions arising in the course of social development.

An analysis of the processes mentioned shows up not only the need for greater discipline and organization, it also reveals the expanded opportunities for democratic cooperation and creativity. In the combines, all connected stages of the reproduction process are integrated in a relatively independent and social organism; they therefore have available substantial material, financial and intellectual powers and decisionmaking authorities on the basis and within the framework of the state plan. Intensification and the requirements of foreign trade call for rapid and flexible responses, the quick renewal of the product assortments and constant rationalization. The realization of economic growth coupled with declining materials and energy consumption for the greatest possible social efficiency makes many unprecedented demands on product and technology development, the economical organization of the entire production process, the utilization of basic assets and the labor capacity, the combination of economic efficiency and the improvement of the conditions for personality development and social relations. These are all suitable projects for creative involvement not restricted to management cadres but challenging all working people.

What kinds of opportunities for democratic cooperation has the socialist society generated for the direct producers? How are the producers substantively enriched in the course of the further organization of developed socialism and the all-round enforcement of intensification?

1. The resolutions adopted by the party and the socialist state determine with mandatory effect the general orientation for the planned development of the economy and society. The actual realization of these resolutions in enterprises, work collectives and regions is the object of creative action. As central management and planning is increasingly preoccupied with basic decisions and targets, the respective subsequent management levels acquire greater responsibilities, decisionmaking powers and resources. Routine and stereotype management attitudes do not contribute to the realization of our economic and social policy. Required, consequently, as "fresh thoughts" with respect to the totality of the respective policy and with a view to its realization in a specific sector as well as painstaking consideration of the more numerous implementation conditions. All of this calls for creative thought and action.

2. Consequent on the socioeconomic basis and the social nature of the SED's economic policy, the realization of this policy assumes skilled management cadres as well as an economical cast of mind and attitude among the masses. Due to the increased value of capital equipment per job and the higher standard of education and training, the labor of each worker and collective objectively has a greater effect on the total economic result. The contribution is greater, the more consciously and purposefully the requirements of intensification are met. This includes the lowering of materials and energy use, the improvement of function value, the more rapid growth of labor equipment, the rapid transfer of new scientific-technological knowledge to production, and so on. Helped by the ideological work of the party organizations and economic propaganda, more and more working people are so knowledgeable as to be able directly to contribute to the implementation of economic policy in the plan discussion, the competition, involvement in the innovator movement, suggestions and criticism. This knowledge of economics is effective also in the guise of the democratic check on management. Criticism by the working people is more appositely aimed at events in the enterprise that run counter to the requirements of intensification (the production of unsalable goods, lagging introduction of progressive technologies, delays in processing innovator suggestions, and so on).

3. Direct democratic activism by the working people directly affects the social effects of economic development in the enterprise and on the job. The efficient (in economic terms) and personality promoting redeployment of workers, physically easier labor and the creation of progressive work substances in the course of rationalization, the better utilization or acquisition of new skills, the solution of social problems connected with better shift utilization of capital equipment--these are all tasks requiring for their accomplishment the unity of economic, scientific-technical and social progress in the conditions of intensification. The cooperation of the working people who are both subject to and affected by these processes, is quite indispensable.

4. Many motive forces in socialism are generated by the democratic activism of enterprise and work collectives. Socialism abolished such inhumane performance stimuli as unemployment, rivalry among wage laborers and the economic and political powerlessness of the producers. It is equally out of the question in socialism to hope for the rapid abolition of offenses against work discipline and lack of application by instituting "a healthy volume of unemployment." The terms "healthy" and "unemployment" are as incompatible as fire and water. The work collectives have tremendous opportunities for contributing to the evolution of the motive forces germane to socialism. They are reflected in the differentiated appraisal and moral recognition of performance, the observance of their rights and duties, the mutual education of the members of the collective, the intellectual struggle for the most effective solutions with regard to the accomplishment of work tasks and the encouragement of the use of special abilities. Marx acknowledged the collectivity of action as a social productive force that does not cost anything and achieve greater efficacy in socialism consequent on the elimination of antagonisms.

5. It is imperative to develop democratic activism not only in one's own collective, for the purposes of the preparation of management decisions and the determination of their economic and social substance, but to do so at higher levels also. This happens either directly or by way of elected representatives

(labor union and FDJ leadership organizations, spokesmen). The rising value of the experiences of the direct producers in the implementation of the party's economic policy is reflected in the growing importance of proposals on decisions flowing from below to above. The democratic activism of the working people is also demonstrated by occasional pressure on decisionmaking, so that specific problems may be dealt with.

6. Supervision of the work of the management organs is part and parcel of the exercise of democratic activism. It is a form of the exercise of power and also a means for avoiding or correcting negative consequences of the division between managerial and executive work. Of the utmost importance here are party checks, the supervisory powers of the labor unions, the worker and peasant inspectorate and the managers' duty to regularly report to the work collectives.

These opportunities for democratic activism show that the exercise of power by the working people, led by the working class and its party, is not just an empty phrase--though this is a stereotype of anticommunist slander. Instead it is a multifarious reality, secured in economic and institutional terms, and already consolidated by tradition. However important bourgeois-democratic rights may be for the working class in capitalist countries, there is a qualitative historic difference when we compare them with the rights and, above all, the genuine democratic opportunities for exercising these rights in developed socialism. After all, in socialism we have a system of the exercise of power, which establishes genuine social and personal freedom.

The democratic codetermination rights of the working people in the economy and society satisfy their social and personal freedom, when they stand in a dialectic, interrelation with central management and planning in society, the combines, enterprises and regions. Without a scientific social policy, without central planning, without clearly defined subordination relations and responsibilities and without the mandatory enforcement of social interests in all sectors and at all levels, spontaneity and anarchism would inevitably revive.

It is therefore incorrect to consider centralism necessary only from the standpoint of the conflict with imperialism while neglecting the requirements resulting from the socioeconomic bases of socialism, the advanced degree of the socialization of production and labor. Indeed, without centralism in society, the intended effects of economic activities could not be achieved, the benefits of socialism could not prevail. These benefits consist in the realization--organized for the total of society--of objectives and purposes based on the common interests of classes and strata. How would it be possible without democratic centralism to utilize that social productive force, which consists in the total economic cooperation of the producers, and which is available only to socialism by means of central management and planning? Democratic centralism is not a management principle forced upon us by the class war, it is primarily a functional and developmental principle of the socialist society, necessarily arising from the dialectic of productive forces and production conditions. Without its use it would not be possible to increasingly master the socialization processes in the interest of the people. It is vitally necessary in the dialogue with the young generation, in particular, to pass on experiences equipping them to understand the operation of the socialist society and to consciously further develop its historic advantages.

Of course our reaffirmation of democratic centralism must not blind us to the potential dangers of overcentralization and the bureaucratic distortion of centralism. These include formalism, shifting of responsibilities and risks to the higher management level and also the inclination without differentiation to burden higher management levels with the responsibility for problems that remain unsolved in one's own scope. Lenin stressed the danger of bureaucratic distortion of centralism. However, he equally underscored those manifestations of bureaucratism, which are rooted in overemphasis on local aspects and in enterprise and group selfishness. One of the best guarantees for reducing the dangers of bureaucratism consists precisely in the interpretation of democratic centralism as a dialectic interrelation between two aspects. The correct organization of these interrelations lowers the risk of the bureaucratic distortions inherent in raising either of the two aspects to an absolute.

Important experiences were also gained in the conversion of the economy to predominantly intensively expanded reproduction; they also affect the efficacy of democratic activism. The greater dynamism, the compelling need for greater flexibility and for the speed-up of the renewal process call with greater emphasis for the drafting of well thought out and future oriented management conceptions on scientific-technical development, rationalization processes, the training and utilization of the labor capacity and product development. Unless the clear economic policy of the party finds an echo in equally clear development conceptions at combine, enterprise and department level, we will lack orientations for initiatives. The greatest attention is due the task of guaranteeing effective democratic cooperation by the working people also or precisely when decisionmaking must proceed faster and is liable to greater risks. Obviously that can be done only if the interrelations between central management and planning on the one hand and democratic activism on the other are organized more intensively and rationally.

As socialist democracy equals the social commitment of the working people with the objective of conscious and planned economic and social development, ideological insight in the laws of this development is of outstanding importance. Conversion to intensification has underscored the indispensability of the evolution of mass insight in the nature of this process, so that it may be carried out at the required speed and with the fewest disruptions. In the conditions of intensification, productive and socially effective democratic activism is even more compellingly linked to ideological consciousness and ideological work than in the conditions of largely extensively expanded reproduction.

The implementation of intensification intervenes profoundly in the sphere of work and habits. It also involves questioning former criteria and modes of thought. In recent years party organizations, work collectives, labor unions and other social organizations struggled to deal with this process in ideological terms. In the ideological arguments about the necessity of achieving output increases with reduced materials and energy consumption (something that was often considered impossible), of market related plan amendments in the course of the plan year, faster new developments of products, output increases at a time of continuing rationalization, we are essentially concerned with the mental gearing up of our society to a new operating method. This process is not yet complete. The efficacy of democratic activism largely depends on the mass perception that

the dynamism of the economy pursuant on intensification is not temporary nor an exception but necessarily the norm. Any waiting for less pressure of time, more materials and energy, the absence of plan amendments, assortments unchanged for long periods of time--all of this is in the nature of an obstruction. Intensification therefore offers one of the greatest challenges to the further development of the ideological mass consciousness and the substances of democratic activism in the history of the GDR.

FOOTNOTES

1. See K. Marx, "Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie" [Outlines of the Critique of Political Economics], Berlin 1974, p 545.
2. K. Marx/F. Engels, Collected Works, Vol 23, Berlin 1962, p 350.

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CSO: 2300/100

SED'S FELFE ADDRESSES PORTUGUESE WORKERS RALLY.

PM051007 Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 22 Nov 84 pp 3-4

[Speech by SED Central Committee Politburo member Werner Felte at PCP rally in Brandoa on 16 November]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and friends!

Allow me first to thank you for your warm and fraternal welcome. This meeting with you here in Brandoa, in Lisbon's "industrial belt," is a major experience for the SED delegation.

We wholeheartedly convey to you and to all Portuguese communists and the entire Portuguese people the militant greetings of solidarity of the SED Central Committee, its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, and the socialist GDR's 2 million-plus communists and all its citizens.

It was with great pleasure that we accepted the PCP Central Committee's invitation to visit your country. On 25 April 1974 your people's name was written in gold letters in the history of the world struggle for peoples' liberation.

Over the past few days we have met here with some wonderful people closely bound to the revolutionary ideals of 25 April, who have espoused the people's cause--communists, honest democrats, and fighters for the ideals of social progress. Everywhere--in Coimbra University, among the farm workers, among the members of the Amadora city council, or among the Sorefame workers, and here too at today's meeting [sentence as published].

We are deeply impressed by the lofty class awareness, the heroism, and the steadfastness of the Portuguese working class, of the peasants and intellectuals, and of the workers who, under the PCP's leadership, are defending the gains of the April revolution and struggling for a democratic alternative. And, esteemed friends and comrades, you may be sure that we will always be steadfastly at your side in this difficult struggle.

We know very well from your history that you people have succeeded in advancing only with many difficulties and that therefore a great revolutionary impetus, steadfastness, self-denial, patience, and courage are needed.

Our own experience has also shown that it is impossible to curb the ideals of progress if they reflect the will of the majority of the people and are given practical form by a revolutionary vanguard. Your people have such a vanguard in the PCP, a party tried and tested in many struggles. We are optimistic, as you are, and share your certainty that the ideals of 25 April are invincible!

Our two parties are "united in the same spirit and the same courage," in the words of a German revolutionary workers' song. The broad exchange of information and opinions that we have carried out over the past few days with a delegation led by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal has furnished an impressive demonstration of this. The talks held have shown that our alliance for struggle is indestructible, because it is based on similar historical experiences gained during the antifascist struggle, and that we are united in our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our parties are an integral and inseparable part of the international communist movement.

We jointly devote all our strength to guaranteeing the peoples of Europe and the whole world a future of peace and happiness.

This was the main issue broadly discussed in our conversations with our fraternal Portuguese party. And it could not have been otherwise, in view of the world situation, for never since the end of World War II has peace been so threatened as it is now. Ever since Marx' time communists have been in the forefront of the struggle for peace. This has always been so, and must continue to be so!

The source of the threats to world peace is quite clear to all those whose eyes are properly open.

It is the policy of rearmament and confrontation pursued by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism, and their aspiration to world hegemony, which are driving mankind toward the abyss of a nuclear holocaust.

These forces are sustaining conflicts in all parts of the world and openly or surreptitiously attacking everything and everybody refusing to submit to Washington's will. This is the case in the Near East, El Salvador, and Grenada.

At this difficult time we are steadfastly at the side of the Nicaraguan people bravely struggling for their freedom. U.S. imperialism threatens that people with invasion. Here and now we therefore proclaim: Hands off Nicaragua!

Together with all peace-loving forces worldwide we oppose this disastrous course pursued by imperialism, which scorns the people's will and threatens the existence of all human civilization.

The threats to peace and mankind's existence have increased enormously. But we must say at the same time that the forces struggling for peace, disarmament, and the normalization of the international situation have grown even

more. One impressive example of this is the peace movement, which is developing worldwide and which embraces people with differing world outlooks and differing beliefs.

In your country too a growing number of people are involved in this struggle. All peace-loving people can have no other stance than to support initiatives aimed at transforming the Iberian Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

The international situation is indeed tense and complex. But we communists, even under such conditions, retain our optimism and our courage in the struggle. The great poet Bertolt Brecht once said: "The triumph of reason can only be the triumph of people of common sense." We therefore devote all our knowledge and power of persuasion to extending and strengthening the front of people of common sense, to making people realize who paves the way to wars and benefits from wars, and to ensuring that the peoples' joint struggle leads to a change of course toward detente and disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states have on several occasions put forward a constructive program for disarmament and for abandoning the use of military force.

It is necessary, first and foremost, to end the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and to dismantle the Pershing II's and cruise missiles already deployed, to bring about a return to the situation that existed before their deployment started.

Only this can create the conditions necessary for holding serious negotiations on nuclear arms limitation and reduction. The Socialist states' policy has always shown that socialism and peace are an inseparable unity; that socialism needs peace and creates and defends peace!

Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and president of the GDR State Council, clearly stated a few days ago during an official visit to Finland: "The exacerbation of the international situation demands a strengthening of the aspiration of peaceful coexistence. There is no reasonable alternative. It is better to negotiate 10 times than to fire one single shot."

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states have stressed several times that they are willing to adopt the most radical measures aimed at disarmament. They support all steps aimed at removing the threat of a nuclear disaster. This is proved by the latest proposals from the Soviet Union's top representative, Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, which we fully support. At the same time we state quite clamly: we will never allow imperialism to achieve military superiority. The strategic military balance is a historic gain of socialism and is and will continue to be the crucial precondition for peace and for curbing the imperialist adventurists.

Everyone must know that socialism does not allow itself to be subjected to blackmail or intimidation!

Located on the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, our country has a particular responsibility for peace.

When the GDR was founded we made a commitment to make every effort to ensure that war would never again be started from German territory. We have remained loyal to this undertaking. And we can state with pride that we have taken the historic opportunity given to us by our liberation from fascism. In the GDR we have eradicated for good the causes of war and fascism and the socio-economic bases of militarist madness and bellicose policy. From the very first day the policy of peace became state policy.

If now, through the deployment of U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in the FRG, the serious danger of a war originating on German soil were to reemerge, it would naturally prompt serious anxieties.... These first-strike weapons were deployed in the FRG despite the opposition of 70 percent of the population. This is how the people's will is respected in the FRG.

If the same forces who want to revise the situation resulting from World War II, who rant about an "unresolved German question," and who make revanchist claims on Polish, Czechoslovak, and Soviet territory feel encouraged by the appearance of the Pershing II's and the cruise missiles in the FRG, then our reply is: Nothing is unresolved!

As a result of postwar development a socialist German state and a capitalist German state emerged which are as impossible to combine as fire and water. We are in favor of the normalization of relations with the FRG, as is usual between sovereign, independent states with equal rights. A realistic stance on the FRG's part would facilitate dialogue and thus serve peace and security on our continent.

On this basis the FRG is willing to develop fruitful relations of peaceful cooperation with all capitalist states.

It is with this same attitude that we approach relations with Portugal too. We are convinced that their expansion can make a contribution to remedying the international situation.

Our country's citizens are increasingly aware that the impact of our efforts for peace and progress depends to a large extent on the continuous strengthening of our state, on our steadfast alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states.

One clear sign was the 35th anniversary of the GDR's foundation a few weeks ago. The workers, cooperative peasantry, intellectuals, and all working people presented the results of their work devoted to the country's anniversary--results such as we have never achieved before.

In 1984 the national product has increased at the rate of 5.3 percent, which is substantially higher than planned. A GNP which totaled only M24.1 billion in 1949 will have increased to M220 billion by the end of 1984.

Labor productivity, which Lenin indicated as crucial to the victory of the new society, shows an increase of 8.4 percent.

Our socialist agriculture, within which the cooperative sector forms the large majority, achieved the largest output in its history in 1984. In the 35 years since the GDR's foundation the output of agricultural products has increased 150 percent. Meat production has increased sevenfold over the same period, milk 210 percent, and eggs 570 percent.

Now our worker-peasant state is almost self-sufficient in agricultural and meat products.

It has been by no means easy. It has cost us much hard work and sweat. We have achieved it thanks to our party's correct policy, the help and active support of the working class, and the hard work and self-sacrifice of the cooperative peasants.

I could cite endless further figures. For instance, in 1984 we constructed or modernized 200,000 homes.

House rents account for only 5 percent of family budgets. As the painter Heinrich Zille has rightly said: A bad home can kill as surely as a hatchet.

Apart from new homes, a large number of schools, kindergartens, creches, commercial premises, sports facilities, and many other things have been built.

The people have created all this for the people!

This enthusiasm, this willingness to work hard, this creative impulse stem from the awareness that under socialism hard work benefits everyone and that the people, freed from exploiters, that is, as owners of the means of production, also reap the fruits of their hard work.

The profound social changes carried out in recent years and our workers' hard work have brought them security and support.

What does this mean?

It means no unemployment. In the GDR the word "unemployment" is an unfamiliar one. Every youngster, boy or girl, is guaranteed an apprenticeship or education grant.

It means steady prices for essential commodities. The prices of bread, milk, butter, meat--food products which people need--are as low now as they were many years ago.

It means cheap travel and vacations, organized and provided by the trade unions. The Free German Trade Union federation has 683 vacation centers.

It means an efficient free public health and medical care system, welfare for the aged, and broad facilities for treatment and preventive therapy.

It also (though not last) means equal rights for men and women, not only enshrined in the GDR constitution but practiced daily in all sectors of our life. An old demand of the working class has become a reality in the GDR: equal pay for equal work.

In other words the 35-year history of the GDR, its development as an internationally respected, politically stable socialist state with a highly dynamic economy and rising performance in all fields of social activity is proof of the vigor of Marxism-Leninism. It had demonstrated the great potential of a people freed from capitalist exploitation and led by their revolutionary vanguard.

We know that, the stronger socialism is, the more secure peace is and the more favorable the opportunities for struggle for the progressive forces throughout the world.

During our stay in Portugal we have been made aware once again that your party is a very influential force. Today's rally too shows that Portuguese Communists tackle the solution of their challenging tasks responsibly and conscientiously, in a revolutionary spirit, with combative determination and optimism. We are glad and proud to be at your side in the same struggle.

We thank you very much for inviting us to this moving rally.

We will inform our party and our people of your great struggle and continue to strengthen the unshakable alliance between the SED and the PCP.

Long live the glorious PCP!

Long live the fraternal alliance between the SED and the PCP!

Long live the struggle to safeguard world peace!

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

CSO: 3542/61

OFFICIAL, EDUCATORS DEFEND YOUTH PARAMILITARY TRAINING

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 7 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Helena Kinnunen: "In GDR Skill at Shooting Is Part of School Training: Few 15-year Olds Refuse Arms"]

[Text] When 10-year old children drive toy tanks or 15-year olds learn to shoot, peace is strengthened. So declare GDR's educators.

The peace-marchers of the West are in the main horrified.

For this reason I recently tried to become acquainted with defense training in the East German schools. In the GDR official permission is required for newspaper interviews. Instead of a school, I was directed to the Berlin teachers' house, which is one of the city's most stately buildings.

The role of defense training has been exaggerated in the West, the teachers said. Answering were the director of pedagogical foreign information, Ernst Brumme, three school principals and one kindergarten director.

Only the ninth and tenth grades, where students are 15-16 years old, have defense training, the teachers say. They have 8 double classes per year, and in the spring an additional 2-week long practical session at a camp, where they learn shooting, practice civil defense and catastrophe aid, and participate in sports.

There Is No Room For Girls At Camp

"Now the camps accept only boys, but we would like them to take girls as well. Right now, though, that is not possible," regrets biology teacher and principal Mrs Schwartz.

Defense training was included in the GDR educational program in the 1978-79 schoolyear; according to the principals, last of the socialist countries.

Further preparedness is learned in child and youth organizations--95 percent of the East German youth voluntarily belong to the FDJ [Free German Youth].

Schwartz stresses that attendance at camp is voluntary. "But our children like it. It is a high-point in their lives."

Only two or three boys per class skip national defense training camp and sit in class with the girls for the last two weeks of the semester, the principals say.

Those Who Refuse Weapons Are Not Accepted

Those who refuse weapons are not accepted at camp. There are few conscientious objectors in this age-group, the teachers say.

They admit that not all parents welcomed this reform with hurrah-patriotism." But parents' nights, where the matter is explained, are arranged for the parents, and they have nine months to come to a decision before signing up.

Staying out of defense camp does not cause the students any problems with the teachers, the principals insist. But certainly problems have arisen from it with other students, and some boys have joined against their parents will, they say. A typical camp day is like this: wake-up at 6 o'clock, exercise, bath, breakfast, endurance-march or orienteering, break, theoretical instruction or shooting instruction with small-caliber weapons, dinner, free time.

The principals warned against concluding that after this instruction the youth would want to fight. They emphasize its value in developing all aspects of the personality.

Preparation For Compulsory Military Service

"We are not in any way trying to hide that this is early preparation in view of the 18-months long military service," says professor Brumme. In this connection, the fact that West Germany is lengthening its service term is also brought up.

The principals stress that it is not always quite clear to the East German youth that the border between the Germanies is more than a border between countries. It is also a border between military alliances.

"No one can live in peace if a bad neighbor does not allow it," is a slogan repeated both by the country's leader Erich Honecker and by those in charge of the country's education.

In the GDR it is explained that "a bad neighbor" is also responsible for the fact that instruction in student defense skills has been intensified and the youth's defense preparedness in general has been fostered.

"We want to teach our children as early as possible that the slogan of creating peace with increasingly fewer weapons is, to be sure, very beautiful. But when the other piles up more and more weapons with this kind of slogan, we at least want it known that the GDR is ready to defend itself," Honecker explained in Berlin during his interview with the Finnish media.

"In our mind it is a great fortune to our own citizenry, to Europe, and to all humankind, that there exists a strong German Democratic Republic," he said.

Officers As Camp Directors

Teachers of defense training are partly from the army reserve, partly regular teachers specializing in this subject. At the camps, the children are directed by young officers.

Class-time deals with socialist national defense, military professions, the nature of possible war--and in connection with this we make clear, for example, that a nuclear war cannot be won, the teachers explain. In addition the Western military alliance NATO, and the Warsaw pact and its weapons, are introduced, and the relationship between people and military technology is explored.

No grade is given in defense training.

Kindergartens do not have defense training, but they teach love of the fatherland, which in turn creates suitable attitudes for later defense education, the director of the kindergarten states.

Peace education has been integrated into all teaching, it is dealt with in physics, art, etc. In its basic orientation, all of education--including defense training--is peace education, according to the principals. "Our children learn to love peace and hate war," they affirm.

"The Young Are Militarized"

Not everyone believes these affirmations. For example last year's pastoral letter from the Roman Catholic Church accuses those in power of militarizing the youth. The church fears that this kind of upbringing may increase the risk of using violence in crisis situations and twist the future generations' positive understanding of peace.

The Catholic Church has only 1 million members in a country of 17 million. The membership in protestant churches is about seven million. Pacifistic ideas have found a refuge in them as well. The motto "swords into plows," which has been prohibited as a lapel pin, hangs in the facilities of many churches.

The churches have taken a stand to support the conscientious objectors' demand for a true civilian service for those who are not satisfied with the currently possible service in the army's construction projects. Hundreds of conscientious objectors, according to the West German press about two thousand, are currently sitting in prisons.

In Berlin's largest department-store, Centrum, the toy department did not however offer toy guns or other war toys except for one kind of tank, even that from behind the counter from a special shelf of electric trains.

12688

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE CONVENES--Berlin (ADN)--Parsons, theologians, and laymen expressed their commitment to working together in a worldwide coalition for peace in Berlin on Tuesday. The over 250 staff members and friends of the Christian Peace Conference in the GDR adopted a declaration of their annual meeting, in which they condemn the deployment of first-strike weapons in Western Europe and which states that they want to strengthen their "political peace work and the work for anti-imperialist solidarity." They regard that as their contribution to preparing the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly which is scheduled for July of next year in Prague and for which the 15 delegates were nominated. [Excerpt] [AU291132 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 84 p 6]

CSO: 2300/159

CONFERENCE ABOUT SITUATION OF INTELLECTUALS EVALUATED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 26 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by Zoltan Molnar: "After the Thirteenth Gathering"]

[Text] Concerning the Thirteenth gathering in Tokaj. This number itself stimulated the participants to examine the group's existence up to this point, its achievements and future--besides following the given daily itinerary.

The Tokaj gathering has become almost institutionalized over the past years and because of *jus murmurandi* (in plain language: the right to complain), it has developed into a moderately eminent forum--which was stressed more than ever before. However, the gathering has by no means turned into a true workshop of the assembled, useful, intellectual energy.

To a certain extent Laszlo S. Hegedus, the state secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, contradicted this complaint in his speech. He stated that the proposition concerning the development of municipalities presented in Parliament last spring has been composed in the spirit in which it was debated at one of the previous Tokaj gatherings. I would like to add: in the spirit which Tokaj has always represented. That is--if I remember correctly--the idea, once again popular, of proportional municipal development instead of the mistaken notion of socialist development through urbanization for its own sake. And as a part of this, greater opportunities are opened up for the countryside to increase its power of retaining its present inhabitants, and possibly the recovery of country villages.

If ideas take form somewhere, publicity certainly increases the speed at which they are disseminated and thus their effect as well. Obviously, Tokaj has this kind of significance.

And the directors of the Patriotic People's Front do not view their visit to the gathering as a pure formality. The proof is, that the promise made last year by Imre Poszgay concerning family protection councils has since materialized. Or at least they "are on the road to realization" and now we are looking forward with suitable anticipation to the commencement of their operation and the effects of their activities.

Therefore, is the dissatisfaction with the effects of the debates at the writers' gathering justified? Taking every factor into consideration, I think

it is justified. Especially, if the gathering looks for the reasons for its relative lack of success in itself--or at least primarily within itself.

To be sure, the results of 13 years of discussions, always lasting several days, do not appear to be in proportion to the number of adopted propositions. But, propositions put down in writing and addressed to someone were not even composed.

Recognizing this, the gathering admitted that the results of their debates ought to be formulated in propositions. This has occurred now--at least as an intention--but in order to make this intention better established, the editors of NAPJAINK--as one of the organizing bodies--have made sure that next year's debate will start at the beginning of the year in the columns of their magazine and will reach the future participants of the gathering.

This is especially important in the case of a topic such as that for 1985: the Socialist Education of Youth. This is not yet the exact title of the discussion, but roughly speaking, that is what we will be talking about. I believe this theme involves a great deal of material for fascinating discussions for 3 days--including all the major and minor aspects: unreasonable large concessions to disco culture at the expense of social and scientific training and revolutionary responsibility. Everyone interested may be invited. I think next year's gathering could be expanded to include historians, specialists of the youth movement, sociologists and educators with experience in mass movements. The subject also is more manageable than the current one.

Especially if the topic develops further, preliminary discussions can strip away the less important topics and bring to the fore the essential. We will not debate as nebulously as we do now, for example.

The current gathering of last week discussed intellectuals, their place and role in today's society. And although some interesting points were raised, it was doubtlessly not the most concentrated discussion of the past 13 years. It is natural that the existential questions unavoidably jumped to the fore. Neither the lecturer nor the participants hid their dissatisfaction with payments for intellectual work or with the preservation of the value of present payments. The examples most eager to be expressed and consequently those that were presented were more comical than revolting, but considering that pedagogy, education, translation and more devotional foolishness and other similar matters were also represented personally. The numbers and the data did not have a comical effect after all, in fact they were rather sad.

Still the prevailing mood of the conference was not one of bitterness. Enunciation of current embarrassing experiences did not conceal the thinking in historical correlations nor perspective. A classless society can only be created if in essence it will be a society of the intelligentsia. And despite the numerical and proportional increase of the intelligentsia in the past decades it has not been shown at all that quantity will be transformed into quality, quite the contrary! The intelligentsia must live with a historical sense of vocation. The paternal character of everyday work and the habitual fatherly gestures of the higher organizations of the authorities take for granted intellectual infantilism. Paternalism and infantilism supplement and

feed on each other. Intellectuals have to grow out of the old-fashioned habitual status of "the progressive intellectual." They ought to graduate to a role which is accepted proudly and with equal rights in the sphere of action responsibly taking part in the deliberate construction of the society.

As a matter of fact, the debate was concluded in this atmosphere and state of mind.

And I think that this way the Tokaj Forum has been further strengthened by consolidating past and present traditions and experiences. It has been strengthened in the sense of responsibility and deliberate choice of roles amongst the multitude of common and universal problems.

12647

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PURPOSE, DETAILS OF LAW AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by Attila Melykuti: "Rules of Competition"]

[Text] Dishonest persons are simultaneously tiresome and disruptive. They are uninvited stowaways on the economy's railway train and, to make matters worse, they rummage in our pockets like magicians who have gone astray. The kind reader is right: the situation is intolerable and outrageous.

But it is only in legends that incantation changes thieves into saints. Nowadays the law has a better chance to lead someone back to "the straight and narrow path." Many people might therefore think that in defense of honest management the draft bill on the National Assembly's current agenda can clear the way for some kind of ethical breakthrough in the Hungarian economy. This is an exaggeration. On the other hand, what the experts justifiably do expect from the new law is that its consistent enforcement can remove a lot of obstacles from the path of developing economic competition.

With a demand for reality, representatives debated the bill in two versions. Accordingly, they have substantially molded and modified the document introduced by T. Hazhoz under the title "A Bill for Prohibiting Dishonest Economic Activity." The purpose of its framing is summed up as follows in the preamble's introductory lines: "Fundamental sociopolitical and economic interests are linked to the opportunity for more vigorous action--under expanding market conditions--against all forms of dishonest economic activity."

The bill essentially states in a few paragraphs the abovementioned obstacles which hamper competition. Making oneself acquainted with the paragraphs provides an answer to the question: In the long run, what kind of conduct do politics and society judge to be morally alien to the economy? Condemned, for example, are dishonest competition, attacks on the reputation of rivals, fraudulent acquisition of business secrets. It provides the possibility for legal action against those who prior to a price increase--or for the purpose of pushing up prices by creating an artificial shortage--withdraw their products from circulation or routinely stockpile them in the warehouse. The shadow of punishment is cast on anyone who deceives or misleads the

consumer with inadequate information. In this connection, the bill adds muscle to an earlier provision in accordance with which it is forbidden to advertise goods which are not available to consumers in sufficient quantity and choice.

Anyone who has come this far in the enumeration can justifiably ask: How often are these principles violated? Indeed, who has not become furious when products which disappeared instantaneously from the shelves suddenly overflowed stores after a price increase? Or how much annoyance has been caused by the futile search for a good many articles which publicity and advertisements have lured people into trying? These routine examples of dishonest economic activity can be enumerated without end. And the damage in every case can be measured in forints.

Naturally, the law's framers have looked beyond the causes of the annoyances alluded to. For instance, regulations which prohibit restriction of economic competition aim at opening up the business terrain for smaller enterprises anxious to break into the market. In other words, every effort is made with the instruments of law to create equality of opportunity in conformity with the possibilities for desirable competition. Therefore, cartellike distribution of a market among enterprises, discrimination against one section of consumers, the undercutting of competitors and wrongful use of superior economic strength are all forbidden.

We can only welcome the fact that the way is open for several social organizations, among them the National Consumers' Council, to control economic activity democratically by the right to bring suit. It is appropriate to mention separately this feature of the law, because the previous holders of this "license" made use of their opportunities much too infrequently. The decisive explanation is to be sought, of course, in the economy, in the fact that still too many people at present have convenient command of monopolies, that supply and variety are paltry, and as a result of all these things many economic units are defenseless. In most instances, they have not laid claim to legal protection. They do not want to win each lawsuit and pocket a few hundred thousand forints in damages only to be unable, later on, to obtain the components and raw materials necessary for production. The outcome of this practice of "one hand washes the other" and "me today, you tomorrow" has been that adherence to contracts virtually does not exist nowadays, and million-forint agreements have hardly any status or seriousness.

Analyzing the possibilities for enforcement, the lawyers and parliamentary representatives came to the same conclusion: the new law remains a dead letter without genuine competition stimulated by regulation. Rules of competition--without competition. Yet it is encouraging that the bill, with reference to the past, depicted substantial changes in the mirror of the law: changes by means of which the Hungarian economy went from the system of plan directives to the newer transformation of the current decade. This raises hope that sooner or later participants in our business life will morally "grow into" the garment of the new regulation.

URBAN COMMENTS ON U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

AU201507 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 84 pp 4, 6

["Transcript" of the press conference given to foreign journalists by Jerzy Urban in Warsaw on 7 November]

[Excerpts] Renata Marsch, DPA: Minister, the Politburo approved yesterday of the proposals seeking to make impossible a recurrence of counterrevolutionary and antistate activities. Could you discuss these proposals in detail? Another question: In the same communique the Politburo praises the people's political maturity. Does the government consider that the appeals made by the Catholic Church and Lech Walesa to keep calm were ineffective in maintaining social tranquility on Saturday and generally these days? My third question: Representatives of the State Council, the Sejm, and the municipal authorities were present at the funeral [Reverend Popieluszko's funeral], but why did not the press, except for SLOWO POWSZECHNE, publish their names? Were these people official representatives of the government and power apparatus?

J. Urban: I have to ask you to ask one question at a time. Otherwise I have to repeat your questions to indicate to which one my reply refers.

As for the proposals mentioned in the Politburo communique to the effect that antisocialist activities should be made impossible, they involve ways and means that will be made to fit the needs and the situation. I have nothing more to say at present about these ways and means.

The second question whether the government considers that factors other than its policy were responsible for the maintenance of calm, for which the people were praised. Certainly the Polish Catholic Church's conciliatory stand did make an impact on those sections of our citizens who are susceptible to the church's appeals. As for Lech Walesa, I attach no significance to his appeals because his social prestige is now very low and is becoming increasingly lower. His statements are also most variable, as attested to inter alia by the quotations from his speeches published by the Western press. He keeps on making different statements all the time, and the upshot of this is that even that small number of the people who, I assume, feel sentimental about him and his name, no longer attach any significance to what he says because what he says is fickle and thus devoid of seriousness.

The funeral was attended by representatives of Catholic organizations, including the chairman of the PAX Association. This presence did not amount to any support for Reverend Popieluszko's views. It amounted primarily to solidarity with the condemnation of the crime. Mr Morawski, chairman of the Christian Social Association, was present as a representative of this association. Yes, it is true that representatives of the municipal authorities and officials dealing leadership. I am saying and stressing this because the Western press continues to publish the most diverse sensational speculations and to name members of the party leadership, making them somehow responsible, in a base and insulting manner, for what did happen. I have read the names of Politburo members in this connection. I think that this is a shameful action on the part of the Western press.

Gunter Schubert, ZDF: How can the crime in question affect the relations between the Catholic Church and the state? What are your views on this subject?

J. Urban: Our religious policy is stable and our relations with the Catholic Church are based on enduring principles, about which I have spoken several times. Better or worse events do occur in these relations, and recently we have had a tragic event. It is difficult for me now to speculate on the future results of this event. As for the attitude toward the crime itself, the state and the Catholic Church are close or even more than close in their views on certain of its aspects. In any case there is no reason to express concern for these relations. Yesterday's communique issued by the Politburo speaks of inexhaustible opportunities for creative action, which signifies that our religious policy is stable and that the state-church relations continue to develop constructively in line with the PPR Constitution and for the good of the people.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: I would like to know whether the fact that General Jaruzelski has assumed control over party work within the Ministry of Internal Affairs signifies that some changes have occurred within the party itself, that he has taken over someone else's place, and that this is an unprecedented measure?

J. Urban: This fact signifies that party work in the ministry in question will be personally supervised by the first secretary and by no one else. Is this measure unprecedented or was it already taken in the past? I do not know. Please ask the Central Committee about the historical development of the division of work in the party leadership.

Michael Kaufman, NEW YORK TIMES: Minister, yesterday's communique condemned the possible instigators of the crime as well as other persons who wanted to exploit it and to sow confusion and encourage antistate activities. Could you tell us on the strength of the present investigations whether there is any difference between the instigators of the crime and those who wanted to exploit it and whether these differences can be expected to be more closely defined in the near future?

J. Urban: I confess I do not quite understand your question, which is most complicated. I will not be able to give you a precise answer to a question so formulated. All I can say is that we still do not know who instigated this crime. At the same time, we know very well who has tried to exploit it and who continues to make capital out of it. These are, at least for the time being, two separate cases so to speak, and this is why I am unable to make them appear logically connected. Perhaps I have not been able to grasp the thrust of your question. Please be more precise.

Michael Kaufman: I would like to know whether, as you have indicated, there are two different groups concerned with the crime. Perhaps one group instigated it and the other group exploited it. Perhaps they were united in their action. Do you think and does the power apparatus think that two groups were involved in some kind of conspiracy? Are they a single group or are they two groups?

J. Urban: We do not know whether the crime against Reverend Popieluszko was instigated and if so by whom. That is why it is impossible to make any suggestions on this subject at the moment without knowing the true facts. It is still too early to know them.

Kevin Ruane: Minister, could you supply more details about the arrest of the kidnappers? Did they produce the identity cards issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the cards issued by the Security Service? Was one of the kidnappers illegally wearing a uniform and cap of a militia officer from the road traffic division? Why were they allowed to proceed on their trip?

J. Urban: I can answer only the third question. They were allowed to continue their trip because the road traffic militia decided that everything was in order. I do not know what kind of cards they produced and how they were clad.

Douglas Stanglin, NEWSWEEK: Have the investigations to date revealed any connection between the Popieluszko kidnapping and similar kidnappings in the area of Torun and Bydgoszcz?

J. Urban: No, they have not. I am in possession of an extensive explanation issued by the prosecutor on 5 October 1984 why this case was dropped. The explanation states that the kidnappings in question did take place and describes in great detail the prosecutor's investigations into these kidnappings. It states that it was impossible to detect the kidnappers because, among other things, reports that kidnappings had taken place arrived very late after the fact and because the kidnapped persons did not at once report what had happened to them, but had let pass some time before they did so. The explanation describes in detail what was done to clear up these kidnappings and states that it was impossible to establish anything. For example, one kidnapped person was unable to recognize the place in which he had been kept by kidnappers. Various tests were made, various cars were used, and other measures were taken. The case was subjected to comprehensive investigations.

However, two of the persons in question have complained about the case having been dropped, and this is why a higher prosecutor's office is now investigating it. There is no reason why the two cases [Popieluszko and other kidnappings] should be linked because, among other things, the investigations have clearly indicated that it was a coincidence that Popieluszko was murdered in the Torun-Bydgoszcz area.

Editor Lopuszanski, INTERPRESS: Mr Minister, could you please comment on and explain something contained in Minister Kiszczak's Sejm report yesterday? Minister Kiszczak spoke thus: I also ordered the detention of Lieutenant-Colonel Leszek W., head of department in the Warsaw office of internal affairs, who was responsible for the activity undertaken in connection with Father Popieluszko. Could you explain what sort of activity was undertaken in connection with Father Popieluszko?

Urban: It was an investigation into Father Popieluszko's illegal political activity and his contacts with illegal structures, which were at the focus of the Security Service's interest in accordance with its duties. Of course, Father Popieluszko's religious activity was irrelevant, because that does not interest the Security Service. Yet despite the interior minister's conclusions, this lieutenant-colonel, as we know, has not been placed under arrest by the prosecutor. His case is still being examined under official procedures. There are certain clues indicating that he spoke to the kidnappers before the crime, and his conversation may have induced him to think that his colleagues were planning some illegal methods of action. That is the nature of the case.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I wonder what the offices of internal affairs in Torun and Bydgoszcz can add to the investigations. After all, Father Popieluszko was in the area covered by them on 19 October, and they must have been interested in his presence some way. If the persons escorting Father Popieluszko noted the license number of the car that was watching them--the kidnap car--then surely the security people in that area must have noticed something like this as well.

Urban: I do not quite understand. If you are suggesting that some Security Service vehicle was following Father Popieluszko's trail, then no, there was no such vehicle.

C. Bobinski: What I mean is that the security services there must have observed Father Popieluszko in some way, and must have monitored the mass. I reckon they escorted him to where he was performing his work. Could these security services add something to the broad investigations?

Urban: I am unable to say at all who from the investigating apparatus has contributed what to the investigations. I can only say that judging from the investigations, no one from the Security Service followed and watched Father Popieluszko. Unfortunately! In any case, if we say that the lieutenant-colonel from the Warsaw office of internal affairs was involved in matters connected with an official investigation, that does not mean that

Father Popieluszko, conducting normal clerical activity, was watched. It means that the appropriate services had discovered illegal contacts held by Father Popieluszko.

Amid Roid: I find the case of the driver interesting. You said that he managed to escape without problem, that nothing happened to him, that he has a foreign currency bank account, that (translation of question uncompleted).

Urban: It is not Chrostowski who has the bank account. At first, his escape from a car in which he was bound and gagged and in which three security officers were sitting, and his successful flight under these difficult conditions, seemed improbable. But his story was confirmed later by forensic tests and witnesses. However, the investigations are not closed and all matters are still being investigated, including these circumstances.

Michel Kaufman: Are we to conclude from what you have said so far that Captain Piotrowski and the remaining suspects have denied any link between the kidnapping in the Torun and Bydgoszcz area and the death of Piotr Bartoszcze, or have they not been questioned on this matter?

Urban: There was no reason to question them on this matter because despite what the Western press says, Piotr Bartoszcze's death was caused by a road accident at a time when he was in a drunken state, and there is no reason to connect the two cases. As far as the kidnapping is concerned, I have presented the situation as it stands right now.

Kevin Ruane: Please forgive me for coming back to this subject, but it seems to me that my colleague from EP has not fully understood your earlier remarks on this subject. Whose place is General Jaruzelski taking as the supervisor of party work inside the Ministry of Internal Affairs?

Urban: I am afraid I am not authorized to give such explanations, and suggest you ask the PZPR Central Committee, which has its own spokesman, for an explanation about the distribution of tasks among the party leadership so far, and about how the distribution looks since the modification. I am quite simply not authorized to explain such matters.

Renate Marsch: Just a short question. Were all Politburo members present at yesterday's Politburo meeting?

Urban: I cannot say for sure, because a government spokesman has no such knowledge. But I can assure you that there was no significant absence.

Charles Gans, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES: Have the investigations revealed that Piotrowski and his fellow suspects have been involved in any other activity or attacks on Roman Catholic priests?

Urban: No. There are only the facts of the 19 October kidnapping. Getting back to Mrs Renate Marsch's question for one moment, I would like to say that I read the following sentence with surprise in the 31 October issue of

the Swedish EXPRESSEN: "Minister Urban has confirmed at a press conference that there will be purges in the Politburo, and that these purges will apply to Milewski, Olszowski, and Siwak." This is quite simply journalistic gangsterism, whereby I am being accredited with information that I have never presented here. One is afraid of performing one's duties when this way of thinking exists.

Charles Gans: One more matter, by way of explanation. Has Colonel Pietruszka been accused of abiding and abetting the kidnapping, in other words its perpetrators?

Urban: I have said that the investigations are in a preliminary stage, and that the clues have pointed to some sort of involvement and they do justify his detention. However, it is too early to say what this involvement was, and one cannot say whether he was definitely involved. I am surprised at the enormous number of declarations and statements that have been made in the West about Father Popieluszko's murder. These are declarations by governments, parliaments, parties, and so on, and possess various shades of partiality or lack of partiality toward the Polish authorities. This is a very extensive collection. For example, I am surprised at the declaration by the Italian premier, Mr Craxi, who said that those in Poland who have the courage to ask for the right to freedom fall victim to those who do not recognize the basic rights of man. He calls on us to apply justice toward and punish those responsible, and says that there is a division between society and the authorities in Poland, which has been enhanced after the murder of Father Popieluszko. He has also spoken in negative terms on the subject of our trade union movement. I wish to say that declarations like these, the pretext for which has been furnished to Mr Craxi by a political killing in Poland, are surprising to us. It seems that the Italian premier should be particularly well acquainted with terrorist killings, and he should not be eager to make a political profit from them at the expense of a foreign government. He should have enough work to do and troubles to deal with in his own country in connection with terrorism and killings. For example, a young girl named Orlando, the daughter of Vatican employees, was kidnapped, and yet there is silence on this subject in Italy and no one knows anything more. Political killings keep recurring in Italy, and terrorism and the Mafia are blooming. All this is a blemish on the cradle of European culture which Italy is, and this contagion is spreading northward. However, Premier Craxi, and many other Italian politicians, are involving themselves too much in a fortunately isolated, but nevertheless terrible and dangerous, event in Poland. It is difficult not to perceive bad political motives here.

After all, a rich variety of various statements does not serve at all the good cause of revealing the perpetrators, discovering the circumstances of the deed, and drawing the proper conclusions. They only serve to bring about political advantage at the cost of someone else's misfortune, and involve generalizations on the subject of Poland that are unethical and politically unjustified.

Kevin Ruane: Could you tell us whether the foreign ministers of Italy and West Germany will visit Poland this year, or this month, or in the coming months?

Urban: Such a possibility exists and these matters are being dealt with.

CSO: 2600/257

STATEMENTS READ AT 17TH PLENUM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Nov 84 p 4

[Text] The following is the PAP discussion of statements included in the minutes of the 17th PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum.

Zofia Wilczynska, KC member, employee of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee in Prudnik, Opole Province

The rebuilding of state authority requires the rebuilding of the authority of the law and the raising of the level of society's legal awareness. Lack of familiarity with regulations and the failure of those to whom the particular legal norms apply to observe the law lead to the vitiation of these standards. For example, Poland has a very good law on quality control. Yet, what is our product quality?

We cannot require the observance of the law by citizens alone. Law and order is the absolute observance of the law by all organizational units to which legal norms apply. This will ensure the efficient operation of all state organs; it will be an important element for strengthening the state. It will impact on the proper structure of relations between officialdom and the citizenry, between the state and society.

The disciplinary state of society is far from satisfactory. The very appointment of the Council of Ministers Committee for Affairs of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline will not raise the level of social discipline if we do not take seriously the idea that the fate of the ship on which we sail under these difficult circumstances to a better life rests with every Pole as an individual and with all of us together. During the recent period, those that worked to harm the state were not penalized properly. Those that barely tolerate or openly oppose socialism live without reproach or hardship.

Labor discipline is closely tied in with social discipline. In the Opole Province alone, over an 8-month period this year, over 14,500 man-hours of work were wasted. This shows how much remains to be done in this field. An assessment must be made of how many conferences during work time are necessary and of whether all official delegations are advisable. Is the physical state of our society that poor that it requires such a large number

of sick leaves and are the incentives systems in effect in particular plants effective? Currently we often pretend to ignore certain things. A director disassembles before a manager, a manager disassembles before a foreman and so on, hoping to give the impression that everything is under control, a false impression that often covers up a lack of expertise. To what does this lead? We take others to task, while we ourselves are incompetent.

I live and work in the Opole Province. I would like to touch upon yet another important issue: national pride, patriotism and a sense of self-respect and ambition. We should learn these values from the cradle and inculcate them from the earliest age. Instead, what are the lessons we teach in civic upbringing? How do we approach these issues in our own families? Do we not protect our sons and daughters from working too much? But learning by working is the most effective path to a love of order, discipline and respect for work.

When they go abroad, some people lose their sense of self-worth. Many people in the Opole Province go abroad to make money. We have a situation where we are short of manpower and yet we readily grant several months of unpaid leaves.

Our state will be strong when our party is strong, when the binding law will be observed by all to whom it applies.

Statement by Jan Witt, KC candidate member, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee [KZ] at the JAWORZNO Hard Coal Mine in Jaworzno, Katowice Province

Our state has goals that are outlined by the working party, which performs a leading role in society and a leadership role in the state. These goals are detailed in the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. It is true, however, that daily life sometimes departs considerably from party regulations, from constitutional principles. Working people frequently analyze decisions embarked upon by the party, Sejm resolutions and government decisions. Generally they approve of them, but they always assess the practical aspects of their implementation. Unfortunately, the results here are uneven. It is bad when we leave various kinds of loopholes in a good law or decree or in their interpretation. There are also those that will break the law if it is monitored indecisively or inconsistently or if there are many departures in its implementation. Take housing law, for example. Through gaps and departures we ourselves bring on difficulties in filling housing spaces. We condone the illegal occupancy of official residences, we increase the number of empty units and the like.

As the ruling party, we are trying to rebuild society's confidence. Sometimes, however, we take a step forward only to draw back two or more steps, according to public opinion. What must we do to make the process of the credibility of our decisions continuous? We must talk to society honestly and sincerely and not make decisions on the principle that things will somehow work out. The issuing of decisions and the making of resolutions must be preceded by an accurate analysis of state potential. They must take into account the situation and mood of working people. Sometimes at meetings workers ask whether it is really so difficult to plan and anticipate what items must increase in price in a year or a month. Recently, for example, this is what happened with automobile price increases.

The nature of some decisions or the failure to implement decisions leads people to say that decisions are not always realistic. The party sets up the principles of social justice. When it wants to implement these principles, however, it must take into account the reactions of those that produce the goods for the nation directly. It must base decisionmaking on local opinion. Our emergence from the crisis lies in wise and common-sense tactics employed in party actions, based on the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the yardstick of current needs and concerned about working people.

Andrzej Styczynski, KC member, first secretary of the PZPR KZ in the ELTERMA Lubuski Thermotechnical Plant in Swiebodzin, Zielona Gora Province

Our most effective defense in the ideological struggle is the deepening of the socialist democracy and an increase in the effectiveness of the use of economic potential, resulting in an increase in the level of our social life. Flexibility in resolving our problems, the Leninist principle of always taking into account the existing realities in tactics was emphasized strongly in the Ninth Congress resolutions. If, however, we ask ourselves how willing cadres of the state and economic administration are to implement these tactics, not to mention their enthusiasm for them, the answers will vary.

As never before, the current period demands a special increase in innovation in the field of organization and management in the administrative and economic sphere as well as in the field of technological progress. Economic reform is making its way into our reality with difficulty and at a rate that falls far short of our needs. This is shown by the barely perceptible progress in rationalizing employment and by the unwarranted proportion of workers directly involved in production to those employed in serving production. It is also shown by the essentially asocial drowning of unwarranted costs in high prices. Although the government has given decisive battle to these phenomena, we as the party cannot fail to see that such phenomena exist with the approval or passivity of the mid-level management cadres. The party's impact on streamlining the state and economic administration through the management cadre, most of whom have been recommended by the party, thus requires continued intensive improvement. I believe that we must reward courageous and effective actions more boldly and consistently while clearly and unequivocally assessing the manifestations of speculation, traditionalism, ossification and outright ineptitude.

Ideological criteria in the selection of cadres recommended by the party must remain the fundamental criteria. In addition to these criteria, we ought to take into account natural aspirations and ambitions, particularly of working people, and evidence in their professional lives of successes based on recognized competence among their community, boldness and innovativeness, in a word on all those characteristics that are the driving force of progress, particularly economic progress. The implementation of such a direction in cadre selection will enable us to draw out from among the several hundreds of thousands of members of our technical and economic cadre those people capable of performing the tasks that face the party in the sphere of economics and management.

Edward Zachajkiewicz, chairman of the State Economic Arbitration Office

The strengthening of the role of the law and the preservation of the principles of socialist law and order are most important in the implementation of the line of socialist renewal. This is a fundamental task for building a strong socialist state, for implementing the principles of democracy based on law and order.

The implementation of the idea of socialist law and order in the economic sphere is an important issue. Transgressions and shortcomings in the operation of the economy have been taken advantage of by our opponents in their activities. Consequently, ensuring the disciplined implementation of economic plans and the execution of contracts, in short, strengthening law and order in the broad sense in the national economy, must be treated on an equal plane with strengthening legal law and order in social and civic life. This is the sphere of activity that lies in the direct area of interest of the State Economic Arbitration Office.

Views stating that arbitration is foreign to the Polish legal system and that it is an unnecessary institution have spread under the guise of economic reform, riding the wave of the struggle to achieve a socialist state. Clearly this is a ploy to weaken the authority of arbitration and to reduce the possibility of its influence in the economic sphere in protecting the interests of society and the state. Countering these views, the Ninth Party Congress recognized the State Economic Arbitration Office to be a permanent institution in the system of organs of our state and proposed that the role and status of arbitration be increased.

The Politburo idea that observance of the law in the entire economy is an integral part of law and order in the state expresses deep content. It also demands that the work of arbitration organs continue to be improved and that its work be intensified. This is indispensable, since the practice of arbitration confirms fully the still occurring manifestations of the violation of the sometimes elementary principles of socialist law and order in the work of some enterprises and other economic units. Trying to shirk responsibility, quite often they are disinclined to conclude agreements, fail to discharge their obligations and violate the binding principles of price-setting. Failure to observe quality standards is a key issue. There are also too many examples of waste and uneconomical management. These are out of line with the constitutional principle of strengthening public property and ultimately place a burden on the entire society.

More effective legal solutions as well as the consistent exacting of the observance of binding law are indispensable for combating phenomena related to the violation of law and order in the broad sense in the national economy. The marshaling of the law in the economic field and the discovery of more modern legal solutions that fit current economic needs should serve this end. At the same time, we must disseminate knowledge of economic law, particularly among enterprise workforces and management cadres. This is an important element of the general legal education of society.

The struggle over a good economy is also a political struggle today. This truth must reach everyone that works in the economic sphere, every enterprise and every state organ.

Jerzy Dabrowski, KC member, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee] in Zielona Gora

Society in our central Oder valley region stresses that one of the crucial issues for strengthening the state is to secure the permanence and inviolability of our borders and the sanctity of our Polish soil. This is our historic mission outlined by the Polish Left during World War II in a cohesive and realistic program for resolving the border issues of the Polish state. By setting up an alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, we have created a sure guarantee of the irreversibility of the historical process for the work of recovering the Piast lands, lost for centuries.

Consequently, the party can state with satisfaction that, in the 40-year history of People's Poland, we have made an enormous difference in the history of the Polish state. We have recovered the ancient western borders for the Polish people and state. We have waged an arduous struggle on the international plane over preserving their integrity and having it recognized.

A major revisionist attack retaliating against the foundations of the postwar European order is being spearheaded from the FRG by various nationalistic, militaristic and rightist groups and orientations. The normalization pact concluded by the FRG and Poland has more opponents there and more traitorous interpreters, spokesmen for the great German claims, than loyal partners that act according to the letter and spirit of this pact. In recent years, our external opposition has been succored by renegade antisocialist forces. The counterrevolutionary goals that they intended to fit into the post-August development of events in Poland were tied in with appeals to revise the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The entire Polish Right reacted in the same way. Attempts were made to diminish and blur the achievements of the social processes of integration, adaptation and assimilation that, along with the socioeconomic revitalization and changes in capital spending taking place in Poland, are important, incontrovertible evidence of Polish creativity, the great dowry of People's Poland contributed to the entire millenium of our history. Out of concern for preserving this great heritage, I move that we write into the plenum resolution the statement that the Polish border settlement established in the Yalta and Potsdam accords is permanent and that every infringement against these agreements will be considered as an act of unfriendliness against Poland, a crime against the state.

Destructive tendencies and ventures have also been aimed at the social consciousness of society. They have tried to weaken sensitivity and vigilance regarding the "German question." They have attempted to create a sphere of ignorance and disorientation, offering cosmopolitanism, nihilism and defeatism as attitudinal models, especially to the younger generation. The influence of the opposition has left traces on the consciousness. That is why, in Zielona Gora, we are working on the task of taking the offensive in enriching civic knowledge and basic familiarity with the fundamental issues of state life.

Jozef Zimnicki, KC member, metalworker at the BOBREK Works in Bytom, Katowice Province

In the past and now, most of our society has desired a strong state. A strong state authority determines the strength of the state. The power of this authority derives from its resilience and decisiveness in action, on the one hand, and from society's support and the skill to make use of society's initiative, on the other. In socialist states, the strength and authority of the Marxist party that exercises authority is an added element determining the strength of the state authority.

In embarking upon the work of strengthening the state, the party must take into account the need to consolidate its own authority and status in society and to increase its strength. While the worst is behind us, in my opinion the period of the party's convalescence is lasting too long. In my plant, for example, in the particular divisions, there is still poor attendance at meetings and training sessions, party members are not active enough, they have a poor reputation among independents, the authority of the aktiv with regard to the plant administration is low and resistance to those that are alien ideologically or hold opposition views is not strong enough. Such objective factors as: the too slow rate of improvement of the economic situation; runaway inflation that is out of line with the plan and the related increases in living costs; and the continuing moods of frustration and attitudes of wait-and-see and passivity among part of society hamper the overcoming of these phenomena. We should not lose sight of the new intensity of the propaganda campaign of enemy centers of ideological diversion and of examples of the limited effectiveness of the authorities in such areas as battling speculation, teaching sobermindedness and protecting the natural environment. Sometimes I get the impression that the elements of authority are satisfied with approval of their intentions and forget about the deciding criterion of society's assessment of the results of their actions.

We should take decisive steps to rebuild the party's authority and to increase its strength, beginning from its lowest elements--party groups and primary party organizations [POP's]. The status of party tasks must be raised and OOP [district party organization] and POP secretaries must again become equal partners of divisional leaders. We must eliminate cases of the circumventing of the duty to poll the opinion of party organizations in the discussion of personnel decisions. Decisive work of the party administration and authorities aimed at closing maximally the gap between the stating of resolutions, decrees, plans and programs that have been adopted and their practical implementation must begin at once. We must close this gap through checks on individuals holding responsibility, through making them accountable and through making those guilty of indolence responsible.

Kazimierz Skwara, KC member, shift head miner at the ZIEMOWIT KWK [Hard Coal Mine] in Tychy-Ledziny, Katowice Province

The period of the road we have traveled since 1981 is one of a real, intensive struggle by party members. First, it is a struggle over the preservation and existence of the party itself. Next it is a struggle that lasts until the

present day over renewal in the party in the spirit of the slogan "the same party, but not the same kind of party."

When, in July 1981, I was elected to the body of the highest party authorities, I was not fully aware of the tremendous responsibility and the difficult daily grind that accompanied the position. During the past 3 years, it has been my fate to bear on my shoulders the issues of our party and homeland. As a KC member, I have taken part in dozens of meetings with comrades and independents in my plant and in the surrounding area. For me they were the most important thing, independent from no one.

From the worker's viewpoint, combating social pathology is a valid goal but one that is, unfortunately, ineffectual. Those that have worked honestly, work honestly and those that have cheated are still cheating. When will justice be done to those that neither sow nor reap but eat and live sometimes better than those that work hard?

The implementation of the Ninth KC Plenum resolution dedicated to youth issues is a thankless task and young people are very impatient. They sense a lack of cohesiveness with regard to some solutions. We should fight for young people very intensively. The issue of the young generation must be resolved clearly.

Society feels that consistency with a capital "C" is lacking in everyday life.

Stanislaw Lowicki, KC member, senior dispatcher for technical-operational affairs at the Katowice WPK [Provincial Transportation Enterprise]

We have conducted a struggle over establishing law and order that has been very important politically and morally. Nonetheless, I do not believe that the struggle is over. We should continue to struggle against the notion of law and order as liberalism. Law and order is the strengthening among us all of the conviction that in the people's state, internal and external enemies will not be able in any way to count on the least weakening of ties between the state and the working class, on a reduction in our worker political activism and on a lack of vigilance, efficiency and strength in state organs. Law and order is the strengthening of the conviction that these organs will be able to strike out mercilessly and with unerring aim at every action of the avowed enemies of our system and state. Liberalism and a conciliatory attitude to enemy elements are the classic manifestations of a vestigial ideological pap, they are inimical to the party and they weaken its unity, militancy and adherence to Leninist principles.

We cannot afford to tolerate the lack of decisiveness still in evidence among some judges and the just severity so in need today in dealing with criminals that ravage public property and violate the security of the state and its citizens. I believe that we should put into practice the principle that the stiffness of a penalty must take into consideration the amount of damage done to public property. This will respond to the just requests of the working class calling for the arrow of justice to aim primarily, and most sharply, at big-time swindlers and crooks.

Our party, struggling toward the political unity of the working class in laboring for the good of Poland, has guaranteed freedom of conscience. The clergy must be guided by the laws of our state, the socialist state, since the clergy live in this state and system and owe it a great deal. Thus, they must take a completely loyal attitude to the authorities and laws of the socialist state. Unfortunately, this does not always happen in practice.

Some comrades maintain that our country has no enemy within. This is not so. Our opponent lies in ambush and waits for us to slip up. Then he uses our mistakes against the party and the socialist system. Those that have fallen into a coma and claim that the enemy has been eliminated from the struggle fool themselves and others and, consequently, undermine the combat readiness of the working class. This readiness must be increased in the everyday work of our party, particularly now when the United States, under the administration of President Reagan, has set in motion all of the methods of cold war in its battle with the socialist system. Although the policy of the American administration against Poland is bankrupt, its wheels continue to turn. Such proponents of "democracy" as Lipski, Kuron, Michnik, Moczulski, Bujak and those like them, while considering themselves to be the "reformers" of socialism in the name of the good of workers, cannot be our brothers, brothers of the working class.

We should not be lenient with our enemies; even such an act of mercy as the amnesty has not had a positive effect on them. They continue their enemy activities against the party, the government and the socialist system, against our alliance with the Soviet Union. We cannot lay down our weapons until we win the battle against the internal reaction.

An urgent need exists to disarm all types of social parasitism, but not in words and statements--in deeds, in concrete actions.

Anna Marciniak, KC member, gmina manager from Pietrowice Wielkie, Katowice Province

On the one hand, the administration must oversee the observance of the law and the legal order. On the other hand, it should perform the role of serving the citizenry. In our system, the state administration has taken on yet another function: organizing and executing socioeconomic processes. Here there are no clear boundaries between the function of administration and the function of organization-implementation.

It is true that we must improve the systems of state organs and that all innovations should correspond to current economic, social and political conditions. However, we must also make use of specific tried and true patterns, and the reforms and reorganization embarked upon should provide a guarantee that they will have a future. Does it make sense under our socioeconomic conditions to reorganize continually and to "relapse" into the old structures (that no one acknowledges), alluding over and over again to reform? Are these actions not a source of the crisis?

The plan to reorganize the system of local administrative organs clearly has separated the lawmaking authority from the executory authority, or the councils from the administration. In performing their duties regarding constituents, not only should councilmen convey the initiatives and needs of their community, but, since they often hold the appropriate professional positions, they should have a decisive impact on the definitive solution of problems. Frequently, society's valid demands exceed the financial and processing capabilities of the gmina. Hence, this often leads to bitterness and the statement that councilmen are without counsel. This hurts self-sacrificing public servants.

In practice, there is no system for educating and training office cadres. The selection of office workers is sometimes casual. While the new system of applying may help, it must be treated as a real preparation for a profession with a social and economic future.

Another issue leading to the fluctuation of cadres in the administration is the fact that the proper social atmosphere is not always created regarding the office worker. Familiarity with the law among society is low. Hence the suggestion that the mass media ought to offer explanations of legal regulations in an easy-to-read manner. The next issue is that of amending the law. While it is true that regulations must be updated, too many changes in legislation and executory regulations may lead to disorientation and may be the cause of their becoming distorted. A legal document must be written for the future; its interpretation must be clear and uniform.

In order for the administration to perform a service role regarding citizens while also standing in guard of labor regulations, I propose that the following recommendations be considered: initiating a program of planned and controlled employment in the administration, by specialization; creating the appropriate economic and incentives conditions for administrative employees; properly equipping offices with technical facilities; resolving the problem of supplying rural areas with telephone service; initiating a program in which, one day a week, no outsiders are received in offices so that the office work may get done; ensuring the legal cadre and the creation in gminas of legal aid centers for society.

8536

CSO: 2600/247

PARTY OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON AIMS, INSTRUMENTS OF CONTROL

PM261509 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNI in Polish 12 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Jozef Oleksy, head of the Office of the PZPR Central Committee's Central Auditing Commission, by INTERPRESS correspondent Ryszard Naleszkiewicz; date, place not given]

[Text] [Naleszkiewicz] Do you believe that professional or public control bodies are at any time capable of steering the development of economic as well as moral and ethical crises?

[Oleksy] It is not the role of control to direct the country out of crises of any sort. A crisis is combated by the means of concrete economic decisions, of setting up new mechanisms, new elements which vitally affect the development of the situation in the given area. Neither can we gloss over the fact that a true crisis is not to be overcome through the efforts of the authorities alone, without any assistance from the public, without the latter being at least prepared to back the state over issues which are right and justified in people's opinion. People often tend to forget this. But control is merely an instrument and it cannot constitute the only method of combating the crisis. It is an instrument held in somebody's hands. Thus professional control is an instrument in the hands of the authorities and the state, while public control is an instrument in the hands of the public.

[Naleszkiewicz] All the same, everything depends on the legally provided scope for action. Professional control has such scope, but public control has not got quite the same possibilities.

[Oleksy] Public control is not something that can be viewed solely as an instrument. Its main role ties in with our sociopolitical system and consists in discharging the constitutional right of people's power. If the people are indeed to rule our country, they must hold the right of control over the effectiveness of their rule. The whole idea of inspection is thus concerned with creating opportunities for citizens to step in and to take stock of the functioning of different sectors of life. Especially those where things are wrong.

[Naleszkiewicz] But the system of representation does guarantee such a right of control on the part of the representative bodies, that is, those representing the people.

[Oleksy] Of course. This right is considerably extended by the recent act on people's councils and local self-government.

[Naleszkiewicz] Those rights are, however, not always put into practice as they should.

[Oleksy] There are two reasons for this. One is that the elected representatives themselves are not yet quite certain how to make use of their right to exercise control. Second, that those around them, the executive authority bodies, the administration bodies and so on, are not always willing to be subjected to that control and are often as awkward as possible about it, which is psychologically understandable. We must not make generalizations here, but on the whole things are not too good.

[Naleszkiewicz] Is public control expected to fill those gaps?

[Oleksy] It ought to contribute to the strengthening of people's power in this very area. This is how--to put it in somewhat exalted terms--the dictatorship of the proletariat is expressed in practice. Thus the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate is an offer put forward by the party, for it was the party which came out with that initiative, presented to society with the aim of extending the area of the joint rule and avoiding a repetition of old mistakes. After all, the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the party did firmly recommend that the rule of the people be extended.

[Naleszkiewicz] All this accounts for the political considerations. What about some more practical ones?

[Oleksy] The inspectorate can play an important role in combating the social evils which occur and persist not only in crisis conditions.

[Naleszkiewicz] But if that other aspect is not realistic, that is, if the rights and powers of inspection are too limited, if the inspectorate is not /EFFICIENT/ [capitalized word between slantlines double-spaced for emphasis] in combating those evils, then the task dictated by our political and social system will wither away and remain unfulfilled. What is even worse, people will be left with a sense of frustration and disappointment.

[Oleksy] Absolutely. That is why absolute effectiveness of social control was stipulated throughout the debate which took place during the consultation following the 16th Central Committee Plenum, an effectiveness which necessitated the granting of extensive rights to control bodies.

[Naleszkiewicz] Let us admit frankly that, after their earlier experience with various inspections, work forces approached this initiative with very considerable mistrust. Reservations were also voiced during the 16th Plenum sessions...

[Oleksy] Nevertheless 74 percent of plenum participants were in favor of creating this inspectorate, and opting for granting it extensive powers.

People said: "We are in favor, but only on the condition that it will not be a paper tiger." And this is indeed the crux of the matter. It is possible to set up an inspectorate within the framework of the existing acts, and such was the initial intentions.

[Naleszkiewicz] What stage have we reached today?

[Oleksy] The possibility is still being considered of accommodating the rights and powers of the inspectorate within the existing regulations, without bringing in new legislative acts, laws, or Council of Ministers resolutions. The inspectorate may also be an institution under separate provisions of a new act.

The Worker-Peasant Inspectorate provokes controversial views, which is just as well, for we will perhaps be able to avoid mistakes because of that. This diversity of opinions also has its source in the popular belief about the great number of control bodies in Poland, all of them endowed with absolute executive powers with regard to combating evils. It is true that there are 19 professional control bodies, beside inspection divisions existing in the cooperative sector, in individual enterprises and in institutions. The whole apparatus employs some 23,000 people, which is not such an excessive number. Not all those bodies are empowered to demand immediate enforcement of their stipulations, to remove people from their posts, to exact penalties, and so on. In fact only the Supreme Chamber of Control and the State Sanitary Inspectorate enjoy such wide powers, and in many areas also the Main Local Inspectorate. But, for example, a body as important as the State Trade Inspectorate does not have this kind of authority.

[Naleszkiewicz] Moreover, people place no trust in all those existing formations which are currently exercising control.

[Oleksy] It is true, as our consultations have demonstrated. That is why people are asking for new bodies to be appointed. Bodies which would be "tangibly inexorable," which would command a new, broader range of powers. A pronounced radical attitude is evident here. At one meeting a demand was made for no less than "a new Dzierzynski" [reference to founder of soviet secret police] who would eradicate all rot once and for all. All those radical stipulations, however, are unfailingly directed outside by those who make them. It is seldom that errors are perceived on one's own home ground, in one's own enterprise or institution. It is a peculiar distortion. We can understand it up to a point, for enterprises are subjected to an excessive number of internal and external inspections as it is. They also have a certain social structure in which each element (the self-management body, the management, the party, the trade unions, the youth organization and so on) enjoy some controlling competence. And yet it often happens that only an inspection carried out by an outside body will demonstrate irregularities.

[Naleszkiewicz] I will still stubbornly persist in asking whether it is therefore necessary to introduce a new body like the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate?

[Oleksy] I vote in favor. After all, the point is to draw the largest possible number of citizens into the task of jointly running the country. People see most of the evils above them or beside them, while in fact the majority of those evils take place among them. After all, all that trash on sale must have passed internal inspection within the enterprise, and the poor treatment of the citizens and poor functioning of our public services are not the fault of the government. The impertinent official emerges from behind his class partition and takes umbrage at the store assistant who is impertinent to him. There is thus a lack of uniformity in our public approach to the joint tasks facing us on our own ground. We will not make much headway without joint management and participation by the citizens. Cooperation between citizens and the state is the supreme prerequisite for order and progress in every country.

CSO: 2600/256

POLAND TO REDUCE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN LEBANON

LD201311 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1056 GMT 20 Nov 84

[Text] Beirut, 20 Nov (KUNA)--Poland has decided to reduce the level of its diplomatic representation in Lebanon on the principle of reciprocity and because Lebanese tourists visiting Poland have violated the country's laws and have become political refugees and immigrants.

Sources at the Lebanese Foreign Ministry told KUNA today that the Polish Government has informed the Lebanese authorities of its wish to reduce the level of its diplomatic representation in Beirut on the basis of reciprocal treatment in view of Lebanon's very marginal diplomatic representation in Poland. The sources went on to say that the Poles offered additional reasons for reducing their diplomatic representation including the aggravating crisis of Lebanese immigrants who have requested political asylum in Poland thus forcing the country to support them at a time of economic difficulties. More than 200 refugees have asked for political asylum. Another reason given was the increasing number of violations of the law and illegal dealings carried out by the Lebanese in Poland including hard currency trading, smuggling drugs, and smuggling out goods whose export is banned.

CSO: 4404/85

ZANUSSI'S COMMENTS IN TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Jan Brodzki: "The Homeland - A Convertible Value?"]

[Text] The remarks and opinions presented in readers' letters to the editor are very precious. The scope of matters they deal with is vast. A large number of these letters could be called "letters about the homeland." They include many observations which deserve to be propagated.

Some of the authors of these letters are elderly people who fought for Poland and understand the great value of the state and the importance of strengthening it. Walerian Armas from the Katowice voivodship writes: "(...) I respond uncompromisingly to reports on the absurdity of the restrictions imposed by the American imperialists on Poland. What is my response? I want to imbue young people with a sense of the homeland's worth, teach them to understand that the Poles' future depends on how much effort they put into strengthening the socialist state in this country and that this effort will be good for them, for the state, and for the entire socialist family of nations. This must be felt and understood. It is better when feeling and understanding accompany each other (...)."

TRYBUNA LUDU also receives letters from younger and indeed very young people. One of them, Teresa Zeko from the Warsaw voivodship, writes: "(...) After I completed vocational school, I had the chance to go abroad and settle down there, as my own and my fiance's qualifications are much in demand. I convinced him that we should go abroad on a trip as soon as we had put by some money, but to me the place to live and work is here, even if I do not manage to buy a car for another ten years. (...) I am young, but what the word "Poland" means to me cannot be replaced by anything anywhere. (...)"

I have associated the meaning of letters like these with the thoughts which came into my mind after I had read an interview with the well-known film director Krzysztof Zanussi, which appeared in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY on September 30, and was entitled "Never Give Up Values," [see PNB of October 6-9]. The interview with Zanussi is in a serious, in places even a profoundly intellectual, tone. I do not deny Zanussi's right to confess his views and tell TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY about his very personal feelings, which are in line with the weekly's policy. But I, too, naturally have the right to share my impressions of this interview with the readers of a paper whose policy suits me.

Zanussi confesses that it is very difficult to discover the present sensitivities and desires of audience." I am not surprised that the excellent director is finding this difficult if as he says further on in the interview: "(...) I myself live abroad most of the time." Indeed, if one lives and works abroad most of the time, one cannot easily identify the current needs of a public with which one is only occasionally in contact. These contacts are certainly sincerely patriotic, but nevertheless only occasional.

It is not easy to identify the needs of those artists who still agree--according to Zanussi--with "Kieslowski's famous statement" (he is a director, too, only of a different caliber - JB): "We don't accept what has happened, but we will live with it." Well, that which "has happened" includes socialism in Poland and the fact that at one point it was necessary to firmly defend it against those who attempted to undermine it. If you believe that you will live with socialism only because there is no alternative, you cannot create many valuable things which will meet the public needs. If--as Zanussi proposes--you only use the concept of "modus vivendi" between artists and the state administration and consider the term "conciliation" moralistic (I myself understand it more broadly as "agreement"), how can you even dream of creating something? In this approach "creativity" may only represent an outlet for some obsessive frustrations, and not constructive attempts to solve the real problems and worries. I appreciate Zanussi's talent, but I prefer some of his films to his interview.

Zanussi's idea "never give up values" is precious and worth propagating. But the point is what you consider to be valuable. One can hardly agree with Zanussi's statement that "faithfulness to the country or to the land is one value, but it may be converted to another (...)." No, one cannot agree with this reasoning. I would not like to hurt Zanussi, as he is an artist--he must be a particularly sensitive man, but what he says represents, chemically, pure cosmopolitanism. How does it combine with patriotism? What can you exchange for faithfulness to one's country? I am old enough (I turned sixty a long time ago) to remember what Polish families went through (and how many died) for faithfulness to Poland. Why does not the interviewee just say that very different values may coexist, instead of emphasizing that the sanctity of faithfulness to the homeland can be exchanged for other values?

In my opinion, people like Zanussi should by virtue of the prestige they enjoy, ardently teach faithfulness to the country, they should appeal for a strengthening of the state and improvements in its efficiency. Our outlooks are certainly different, I myself have been a Party member for nearly 40 years, while Zanussi can probably be placed closer to a religious ideology, but we are both Poles. Perhaps he should spend longer stretches of time at home? Perhaps then he would look at our life and needs from a different angle. Perhaps then his interviews would be different.

I must admit that I take a very critical view of Zanussi's opinion that, it is impossible to engage in rewarding creative activity at home. I must say frankly that I found that part of the interview the most arguable. I say "arguable", but in fact Krzysztof Zanussi's approach astonished me and deeply hurt my feelings as a citizen.

Zanussi says, among other things: "In the field of art, the majority of Poles, in fact all, who have achieved anything, achieved it outside Poland. This is the natural fate of artists, as it were; they have to conquer the world in order to conquer their own country. I don't mean that in a spirit of bitterness, which in Poland is larger than anywhere else. But neither Modrzejewska nor Paderewski would have become great if the world hadn't recognized them. It's very difficult to be a great man at home. I happen to be speaking about art, but for instance the same holds true for science. So you can't blame anyone for having decided to work outside Poland with the intention of spreading his wings or learning new techniques."

I do not like this reasoning, I think that it contradicts obvious facts and, moreover, I see a certain inconsistency in it. Let us leave aside the fact that the example of Paderewski and Modrzejewska is inappropriate, not to say demagogical. Using the example of these people and the conditions in which they lived to suit the concrete case one is making is an anachronism. But let us not dwell on these examples. I would like to concentrate--purely for the sake of illustration--on an altogether different period. Was it in some foreign country that the Mazowsze folk ensemble, that marvellous and uniquely Polish group which enjoys great renown and well-deserved popularity throughout the world, became famous? Was it abroad that the master composer Krzysztof Penderecki gained fame? Was it abroad that the singers Wieslaw Ochman and Andrzej Hiolski gained fame? Was it abroad that Krystian Zimerman gained fame? Was it abroad that Stanislaw Lem gained fame? Zanussi himself--a holder of a state award--proves that his own statement is false. Many Polish artists can serve as similar proofs. Take just the galaxy of Polish conductors.

And now let us pass on to the sciences. Which country, if not Poland, bred the world fame of the Professors Leon Manteuffel, Adam Gruca, Marian Weiss and Wiktor Dega? Was it not in Poland that the Polish school of mathematics developed? The continuator of this school by the founders' disciplines--is winning fame to this day. Was it abroad that the scientists and inventors--Professors Jerzy Grzymek, Halina Leszczynska and Tadeusz Rut developed their extraordinary talents?

Believe me, I am not interested here in the outlook of Krzysztof Zanussi, a holder of various awards, or in that of the paper which published the interview with him. This is not the point. I am interested in such elementary problems as the truth about contemporary issues, the patriotic and educational ideals which we teach young people in Poland; we should not give them opinions or articulate false statements which sustain the myths of the universal foreign paradise, where a man has wings and the job he dreams of comes to him in the shape of a miracle.

If someone wanted to be malicious, he could point out that the relevant proof is supplied by Zanussi himself. Just read the following: "(...) I work in two completely dissimilar systems. In the West, I'm subject to pressures from the market and the producer, which affect the artist very strongly and profoundly, and induce him to conform. He has to conform to society, and to other people, because they have to like him if the film is to bring in profit.

So the filmmaker is discouraged from trying to converse with the viewer or even argue with him and is pushed to the position of affirmation, approval, guessing and pandering to what the viewer would like to see and hear. The artist isn't supposed to say what he really wants to, what he considers right and worth saying (...)"

You yourself said so, sir. So what is the point?

I would feel bad if I concluded my article in this way. Plenty of people would then conclude that the fact that my opinion is different from Zanussi's means that I do not respect his talent and achievements. Probably quite a few thoughts contained in this interview deserve appreciation, but those which I have quoted above provoke objections.

That is all that I mean.

CSO: 2600/301

MEMBERS OF KSS KOR AFFILIATED WITH ANTISTATE ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "When Reason Slumbers, Zombies Awake"]

[Text] A few days ago, one of the many groups linked to the disbanded KSS KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense/Workers Defense Committee] produced yet another statement. The statement contains a reference to a PAP commentary published in ZYCIE WARSZAWY of October 27-28, which included the information that "an organization has been set up in Warsaw's Zoliborz district and has occupied part of St. Stanislaw Kostka's parish church, against the wishes of the relevant Church authorities" (the Western press was more straightforward, reporting that the occupiers had refused to listen to the Primate, Cardinal Glemp, who personally called on them to leave the parish house).

The commentary, which included names such as Jaworski, Kuron, Wujec, Romaszewski and Onyszkiewicz, also asserted that "these people want to exploit public outrage to attract the largest possible number of people to Zoliborz, arouse their passions and fill them with hatred. They have called for a strike in the Huta Warszawa steelworks, as if strikes and unrest were what Poland needed most at this moment. As if a strike could bring back Fr. Popieluszko's liberty or life."

The above-mentioned group linked to the former KOR speak out in defense of those participating in the occupation in Zoliborz. Referring to the PAP commentary and the names mentioned in it, they say, "We would warn people that what we are seeing here is the familiar ploy of stirring hatred toward selected persons who have reasons to feel threatened. These press commentaries show that the authorities are not trying to draw conclusions from the tragedy and its complex causes; they are aggravating people's feeling that they are being personally threatened, heightening tension and increasing public unrest."

I think this statement deserves to be examined and assessed both morally and politically. As regards politics, let me say right away that the statement combines deliberate mystification with open manipulation.

First, it is not true that the activity of this grouping in Zoliborz was only made public by PAP. Those occupying the parish house did not hide their presence there. On the contrary--they tried to publicize their actions as widely as possible. Western radio stations, news agencies and papers carried

their names dozens of times, publishing numerous statements made by these people, including TV interviews. The purpose of this was to use certain well-known radio stations to get this information across to Polish society. So how was the PAP commentary supposed to pose a threat to these people?

Second, it is a mystification to assert that criticism in the official media of what is clearly antistate political activity designed to incite tension can ever or anywhere be regarded as a ploy to "stir hatred and arouse a sense of being threatened."

To expose the methods these people resort to, let me cite a fresh example. Seweryn Jaworski, a member of this supposedly frightened grouping denounced by PAP, told Western reporters at the occupied parish house that Fr. Popieluszko was alive and being held by the Internal Affairs Ministry. He also stated he had obtained that information from very reliable sources, and that the security service wanted to throw Fr. Popieluszko out of the country. There is no need now to point out that not a single word of Mr Jaworski's statement was true. He delivered his statement at a time when the search for Fr. Popieluszko was still under way and nobody could have known when he would be found, if at all.

Jaworski must have been well aware that he was misleading the public, and also that his provocative statement, promptly broadcast by certain radio stations, could only heighten tension and increase the threat to public order--which was exactly what Fr. Popieluszko's murderers wanted to achieve.

So who exactly is to be defended here? What methods are to be vindicated in an attempt to play on human naivety or loss of memory?

The stand taken by the authors of the statement also needs to be assessed in moral terms. Some of them claim to feel intimidated and protest against this intimidation, yet they continually travel to the West and give interviews to Radio Free Europe, including ones in which they denounce the actions of the Civic Militia or the security forces, and then they calmly return home. I have in mind here people like Anka Kowalska, who gave a series of interviews to Western radio stations during her stay in France for medical treatment from September 1982 onwards, and yet returned to Poland in September 1983. She went abroad again this year, and again made statements to hostile radio stations, and is now back in Poland again, feeling "personally threatened." Jan Jozef Lipski's case is very similar.

I could cite many more similar examples involving the authors of the statement in question. I do not want to bore readers, so let me just point out that the "communist totalitarianism" which these people never stop talking about does not seem to have done them much harm.

In saying this I am only trying to assess the moral aspect of the behavior of some people who jump at every opportunity to invoke the Church and the Ten Commandments.

Finally, let me mention the case of the venerable Professor Edward Lipinski, whom ZYCIE WARSZZWY recently interviewed and congratulated on the occasion of his 95th birthday. In an open letter to General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Professor has now launched an unheard-of attack on the head of the Polish Government, a fact which Western radio stations have been reporting with satisfaction.

This open letter brings to mind a certain French bon mot which is also known to Professor Lipinski--les extremités se touchent. For what is in fact going on here?

Both Polish and foreign commentators agree that, whatever other political motives they may have had, the murders undoubtedly wanted to undermine the line of the 9th PZPR Congress, the line of agreement and reform, the line of stabilization and dialogue. This is why we agree with the Western press that the provocation was directed against the overall policy pursued by the Party, of which Wojciech Jaruzelski is First Secretary. This truth is ignored only by Professor Lipinski who, regardless of his motives, is working to achieve the same political consequences as those desired by the authors of the provocation. This is where people can be led by mindless bigotry, which is what we seem to be dealing with here. However one might assess the motives behind this open letter, the letter remains a political fact, one with definite, unequivocal implications.

What are the conclusions from all this? First, the provocation of Fr. Popieluszko's murder is being used as political capital by people and forces who can only draw benefits for themselves from that which is negative, dark and contemptible in Polish life. Second, when reason slumbers, zombies awake. Let us not wake them, and let us not let others wake them. For the sake of reason, for the sake of civic dignity, for the sake of our self-evident common interest.

CSO: 2600/303

STATE'S SCIENCE POLICY FAILS WITH YOUNG SCIENTISTS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 42, 20 Oct 84 p 11

[Article by Marek Z. Szczepanski: "Young Scientists Face Poverty"]

[Text] The October increase in scientists' salaries can be safely called a "pay sham." Professors gained 5,000 zloty each and presumably are the only members of the university community to feel satisfied. Meanwhile the financial position of young scientists remains bad. According to many of those involved, it is critical.

The working and living conditions of young scientists are not discussed often. Meanwhile, for many of them, these conditions have become dramatic. The reproduction of Poland's scientific cadre is a broad, crucial problem. The recruitment of the most talented, genuinely research-oriented people into universities is not even the most important here.

Let us assume that even in the most disagreeable conditions, some young people will be eager to work in science to develop their interests, to enjoy more free time than in other professions, to do research and to search for the truth. However, if they lack even the money to buy scientific books, if they are deprived of technical and laboratory support facilities and of contacts with other scientists worldwide, only the first two words of the descriptive term "young scientific worker" will remain true. Below a certain financial, technical and organizational threshold, any reproduction of genuine scientists is just impossible; only underpaid, frustrated pot-boilers, restless with their make-believe problems and lagging ever further behind the state of the art, will remain.

Some people might think that my picture is too gloomy and that, just in case, I am raising the alarm too loudly just to be heard. This is not the case. The fact that many young, promising scientists, often with considerable achievements to their credit, have abandoned science proves that in many scientific disciplines Poland has crossed the depreciation threshold, below which the practice of science becomes difficult, even impossible. This applies, in particular, to the mathematical and natural sciences, but the same phenomenon has occurred in the humanities and social sciences.

Additional proof--the emigration of young scientists--is usually kept secret out of shame. The exodus of specialists in microelectronics, crucial to the development of modern technology, is particularly glaring. Decisions to emigrate are always difficult and painful. I do not think that people are motivated by mere material reasons. The emigres also consider access to modern apparatus, scientific literature, better organization of work and the opportunity to verify their scientific hypotheses quickly and publish their results within a few months, not years as in Poland.

More often than not those who leave the country are talented people, who wrote their Ph.D. dissertations quickly, were deeply involved in research and experiments, but at a certain moment they met the barrier of impossibility, the "wall" they couldn't break through. The larger group who have remained in the country lack equipment and literature and face the interminable publication cycle of scientific periodicals, etc. They are the people about whom I care most of all.

Aware of the limitations imposed by the crisis and foreign restrictions which affect science as well, I still claim that not all the shortcomings of the Polish scientific realities result from "objective difficulties." A lot depends on the state's science policy, which can at least alleviate the threshold and barriers.

To support my arguments, I present the data showing a marked decline in expenditures on science below [see table at the end of the article]. This decline is relative; because of the economic crisis a decreasing percentage of the national income was allocated to the development or even the simple reproduction of science, meaning support facilities and people professionally involved in scientific work.

The progressive impoverishment of scientists (particularly young ones) appears in several indices, for example, the comparison between the pay scales for scientists and the country's average in 1978-82 [see table at the of the article].

The data comes from the report on the conditions for scientific development and the living conditions of young scientists, prepared with the assistance of and for the National Council of Young Scientists, within the Polish Student Association. The report's conclusion is as follows: "... the circumstances of young scientists, compared to other professions, were not always as disadvantageous as at present. The present, sudden relative drop in the scientists' salaries occurred in 1982." Even the present increase in their salaries of 1,000-1,300 zloty, leaves young scientists' (senior lecturers, lecturers and assistant lecturers all together) average monthly salary of 12,500 zloty far below the national average of 17,000 zloty (as quoted by the Government press spokesman). If we considered the salaries of assistant lecturers and lecturers alone, the disparity would be even more glaring.

Needless to say, young scientists are affected by all the general social problems, such as the shortage of housing, kindergartens and nursery schools, etc. The fact that a scientific career often involves changing your place of

residence makes these general difficulties even harder. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that a scientist not only rests in his apartment or separate room but works there as well. Meanwhile, nearly 65 percent of the young scientists do not have an apartment of their own at all.

Apart from all these limitations, the situation of young scientists is also affected by the relations within their respective university. The latter vary. The law on higher education gives definite priority to the group of independent scientists [beginning with assistant professors--tr.], with which I generally agree, on the condition, however, that the latter do not care solely for their own interests (assigning didactic duties, additional organizational obligations, awarding merit pays, etc.).

The state of the printing facilities at the disposal of scientists (both at universities and in scientific publishers, such as PWN or PWE) is also a formidable barrier to scientific work and promotion. Quite frequently you must wait a year and half or even two years to see your twenty-page scientific paper published. A representative of the Ministry of Higher Education and Science told the conference of philosophers and sociologists at Blazejowek near Poznan in September that the situation in scientific publication is as it is; the printing industry is in decay, and the situation will not improve in the near future. All the same, publication is indispensable to the development of science and provides a standard for judging scientists, especially young ones.

The present generation of young scientists will determine, to a considerable degree, the state of science today, and even more so in the coming years, when Poland will be struggling to return to the group of developed countries and to maintain the position of Polish culture among the world's spiritual and material achievements.

The situation is ripe for change. Self-appeasement is unacceptable, for the rapid decline of Polish science has not been checked! Although given the crisis and current anti-intellectual feelings it is unpopular to demand increased expenditures on science, the effects of such a persistent situation will be disastrous--both for the scientists themselves and all of society, which desires to develop culturally and materially. In the modern world, it is impossible to achieve this without science and scientists.

Expenditures on Science

<u>Year</u>	<u>In billions of zł in current prices</u>	<u>Percentage of the state budget</u>
1975	13.8	2.4
1978	16.0	1.8
1980	16.4	1.43
1981	16.3	1.19
1982	26.9	1.24

Average Monthly Pay in Science and the National Average
in the Socialized Economy

<u>Year</u>	<u>Independent scientific workers (profs, and asst. profs.)</u>	<u>Young scientific workers (sen. lectrs, lectrs and asst. lectrs)</u>	<u>National average</u>
1979	11,829 z1	6,938 z1	5,100 z1
1980	12,628 z1	7,193 z1	5,789 z1
1981	13,726 z1	8,521 z1	7,375 z1
1982	13,876 z1	9,191 z1	11,138 z1

CSO: 2600/300

SIWICKI ADDRESSES YOUNG ARMED FORCES INVENTORS

AU271535 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Nov 84 p 3

["Abridged version" of speech by General of Arm Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, at a meeting with young inventors in the armed forces at the social club of the Silesian Military District in Wroclaw on 22 November]

[Excerpts] I believe we can regard our meeting today as very useful. Above all, it has enriched the knowledge of everyone present on the current state of the inventions movement. We have become better acquainted with this movement's bad and good sides. No doubt this awareness will be useful in planning our work in this sphere in the near and more distant future.

The report, the mature and businesslike discussion, and the rich exhibition of the most interesting inventions and ideas all confirm the high importance of this movement in the life of our army, and illustrate the growing influence of the broad ranks of inventors on an improvement in all spheres of the army's life. You play a significant part in this life, comrades.

On behalf of the Ministry of National Defense leadership and on my own behalf, I congratulate you warmly on your valuable achievements in invention and rationalization. I hope that, during further work in this field, you will bear the conviction that talent and purposeful inventive effort are highly valued by the army leadership, and that they are still very essential for the daily functioning and combat efficiency of the armed forces.

The course of today's meeting, especially the concern with which the speakers mentioned the need to encourage a further development of inventiveness and rationalization, confirms that you fully understand and appreciate this need. This is an important energy source in seeking increasingly more rational solutions.

Constructive dissatisfaction and a critical attitude toward reality and toward what we are doing have always been valued. Right now, however, energy stemming from such an attitude is particularly necessary. "For the time has come for a sharp race for productivity, austerity, and quality. And if we fail to take a more energetic and ambitious part in this race, then the train of modernity will move away in the distance."

The above words, spoken by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting with members of the Executive Technical Organization in Lodz, also fully apply to us in the armed forces. For it is also on our front that efficiency and quality largely determine development and an increase in combat ability. So as not to lose the race for progress and modernity, we must wage a mass and universal struggle for an improvement in various areas of our lives and activity.

Besides giving us important defense and educational advantages, inventions also bring us savings amounting to many millions of zlotys. Last year alone we saved over Z800 million as a result of the introduction of new projects. I wish to stress with satisfaction that every zloty invested in inventiveness and rationalization reaps advantages that are 19 times higher. I will permit myself to give one example. An idea by Lieutenant Zbigniew Sliwa and Senior Sergeant Andrzej Buczynski from the 12th Mechanized Division involving training soldiers to throw anti-armor hand grenades with the simultaneous use of the sports rifle as a combat weapon has brought annual savings amounting to Z2.5 million. That is the amount which we have been able to save in just one area of activity.

This is a task possessing a strategic nature. It therefore consists of many individual tasks. For example, as far as training is concerned, inventors should concentrate on how to improve combat systems; improve training methods; prepare soldiers and sub-units for combat in a shorter time; and make the best use of the teaching and laboratory base, training premises, and the training schedule.

As far as leadership is concerned, one must find better ways of guaranteeing a rhythm of life by units that conforms to the regulations, and guaranteeing a proper functioning of the supervisory bodies and guards. A very important task is to seek organizational solutions which would guarantee the most rational use of human effort. We still have much to do in this field. Work organization and discipline in carrying out orders still possess great reserves.

I trust that the competition entitled "An Exemplary Military Order and Correct Functioning of the Services is a Condition for High Combat Readiness," which the Ministry of National Defense's Chief Commission for Initiatives and Inventiveness has prepared, will meet with lively interest from you and your colleagues.

Broadly-conceived use of equipment is an area where we can expect new and more rational solutions. The point in particular is to introduce a more rational use of equipment; better technical maintenance facilities; and reduced consumption of fuels, electricity, water, ammunition, and spare parts.

Finally, I wish to thank you, and through you all inventors, for your unyielding effort and talent in improving our armed forces and for your inventive achievements. I warmly congratulate all those who have been honored today. I wish you, comrades, further achievements in service and in highly useful social work; I wish you many valuable ideas and interesting solutions; I wish you personal success.

PRIEST'S MURDER VIEWED AS ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT GOVERNMENT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 45, 10 Nov 84 p 16

[Article by KTT: "Painful Clarity"]

[Text] The murder of Fr. Jerzy Popieluszko has produced feelings of shock and moral outrage among our whole society. No other reaction to so drastic a deed --so totally alien to Polish political traditions--could in fact be expected. The impression you get from listening to the never-ending talks and discussions on this subject--talks held at almost every opportunity and discussions conducted in almost every one in Poland--is that a great many Poles simply are unprepared to accept the truths that may emerge as a result of this event. Poles have always tended to develop their political consciousness in accordance with simple--simplistic even--which are rarely useful in explaining and understanding what really has happened.

What--to get down to brass tacks--was the political purpose of this abominable murder? It was obviously an attempt to undermine the line pursued by the Party and Government leadership, an attempt to thwart the Government's efforts and obliterate its painstaking achievements. Schematic political thinking, which is strongly encouraged by foreign propaganda, assumes that it is the so-called opposition, both its overt and clandestine wings, which is interested in achieving destabilization of this kind. But then, just why should this opposition be interested in murdering a priest who during his life was an open and vocal opponent of the present Government, a priest who was a prominent activist in that very same opposition? Even if extreme, totally unscrupled cynicism is assumed to be at work here, it seems inconceivable that this was the real background to the murder.

However, if the first version appears so horrendous as to be absolutely improbable, then, according to the simplistic division into "for" and "against," we have to consider another version, namely, that the murder was an act of political revenge (again, leaving all moral aspects aside) directed against a political adversary, the intention being to eliminate him from the game.

Admittedly, even in the present atmosphere of outrage this opinion is rarely voiced; if it is, those voicing it are people deprived of all reason and hopelessly brainwashed. How totally illogical this line of reasoning is can be clearly seen if we just look at the last few months in public life in Poland.

If you take a sober look, you will clearly see that whatever steps the Government takes in wrestling with the economic crisis and trying to improve the plight of the overwhelming majority of Polish society rest on two strategic assumptions, namely, that the crisis can be overcome and the economy revived only if our entire society unites in a joint and productive effort on the one hand, and if economic and political contacts with the outside world are revitalized on the other. This was the political purpose served by the recent amnesty, a conciliatory gesture and an attempt to close a painful chapter of internal conflict. This is also why such strong emphasis is being laid on foreign contacts, not only with the socialist countries, but also with the West. Official visits from Greece, Austria and Finland were the first results of this opening-up to the world, which is especially difficult at present because of the dangerously tense situation in the contemporary world.

The political results of the murder of Fr. Popieluszko show it to have been a provocative attempt to destroy these two pillars of Government policy, at a time when the Government is so obviously trying to reinforce them. As for Poland's internal relations, the murder was designed to generate a new conflict, a new confrontation, a new struggle. Foreign observers were to get a picture of Poland as a restive, unstable country ravaged by political assassinations, while the Polish Government would either seem jointly responsible for this state of affairs or appear to be a weak government incapable of controlling the situation and therefore, if only for this reason, one not worth talking to.

Personally, I would like to hear about any government which would be so insane as to saw away at the branch it is sitting on, as to destroy the foundations supporting its further plans and determining its political fate.

The cynicism of the murder is aggravated by the fact that the victim was a clergyman. And not just the cynicism--also the calculated accuracy of the blow it delivered. Nobody can seriously doubt that the Catholic Church is an unchallenged and very significant partner in the social dialogue in Poland. Because of the goodwill shown by both sides, Church-state relations recently entered a phase which is promising for our country and marked by common sense. We just have to recall Cardinal Glemp's recent visit to East Germany to see how closely the Church has embraced Poland's *supreme raison d'etat*, which is championed by the Government. One aim of the political provocation, therefore, was to reverse this state of affairs in order to substitute enmity and uncompromising polemic for contacts and mutual understanding, a move which could have unpredictable consequences for Poland.

The Polish Government's reaction to the crime has been firm, unequivocal and energetic, even unprecedentedly so. As never before, we have heard assurances that all the circumstances surrounding the murder will be brought to light, that the public will be shown not only the perpetrators of the crime--three young Internal Affairs Ministry officers who cannot possibly be suspected of having ventured to move the colossal wheels of politics on their own. This Government reaction indicates that the planned provocation is doomed to failure, that the good sense of society and the manly determination of the authorities will ultimately prevail.

What forces, then, will be on the losing side? What forces should be on the losing side?

Although the investigation--which the authorities also have said is being conducted by noncriminal methods--has yet to unveil the background of the provocation, the essence of the latter is already evident--the Government was to be discredited. The Government was to be pitted against an outraged public, the bonds of civic dialogue established by the Government were to be torn asunder, and the prospects for reaching agreement with the outside world were to be destroyed. And this is precisely what would have had to happen had the provocators achieved their political goals.

CSO: 2600/297

OPPOSITION COMMENTS ON INVESTIGATION OF PRIEST'S MURDER

PM211331 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Nov 84 p 13

[Dispatch by Sandro Viola: "Poland After the Popieluszko Crime: Jaruzelski Shelves Inquiry"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw--The investigation into Father Popieluszko's murder is virtually over. In fact the attorney general has announced in a communique that the inquiries have been completed, that the reconstruction of the crime has now been defined in detail, and that it only remains to hear the testimony of some minor witnesses. The communique concludes that the attorney will be issuing a charge "soon."

The opposition's comments about the consequences of a partial shelving of the affair are very cautious. For one thing, there is an attempt to rationalize Jaruzelski's behavior. For instance, Bronislaw Geremek, the most prestigious of the intellectuals who joined Walesa around 1980 and became his adviser, says: "As is known, these systems rest on three foundations--the party, the security apparatus (that is, the various police forces), and the army. But in Poland one of the three foundations--the party--has already partly collapsed. So it is understandable that the regime's leadership is aware of the danger of weakening another--the security apparatus--by means of an excessively drastic purge...."

But what now? If, as seems likely, it is decided to proceed no further than the three "hirelings" who killed the priest, what will the Church and Walesa do? Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz says: "As far as the Church is concerned, I do not believe the hierarchy wants to come out with any kind of statement. It will make itself heard, of course, but not in public. It will probably do so at the next meeting of the state-Church joint committee. But it is different for Lech Walesa. He cannot allow himself to remain silent, so it is very likely that he will speak out. It is just a matter of seeing when. I believe it will be necessary to await the next Central Committee plenum. Indeed, the Politburo has decided that the December plenum must not only examine all aspects of internal security but also take the necessary measures, including possible redeployments of individuals. Then we will see how far Jaruzelski can go despite his opponents within the party. After that, I believe Walesa will speak out."

One certainty, however, is that the leadership of the popular movement wants to avoid a clash. "By now," Onyszkiewicz says, "our strategy has been defined: nonviolent resistance, while always keeping pressure on the regime." In any case the opposition does not in the least regard the regime as weakened at the moment. One very widespread opinion among oppositionists is that, at least for the time being, Jaruzelski is emerging strengthened from the affair. He remains the centrist option, and the attack of the "hardliners" has not seriously shaken his position.

CSO: 3528/14

UNITY, MOTIVATION OF SOCIETY SEEN AS FUTURE CHALLENGE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 43, 27 Oct 84 p. 4

[Article by Jozef Lipiec: "Continuity And Negation"]

[Text] The previous four decades began in the Polish nation's most difficult period. I daresay it was the most difficult period in the history of Europe and of the world. Socialist Poland's statehood was born at a time when the political map of the world was undergoing profound changes and when the historic transformations resulting from the crushing of Nazism were taking place. The new disposition of forces, later to be accompanied by the confrontation between the socialist and capitalist systems, was to determine where the 24 million Poles who survived this most awful of the wars were to live. If you then asked anyone how Poland would look in 1984 and what the particulars of country's history during these four decades would be, I am afraid that the most capable visionaries of the time would not merit even partial absolution today.

The next four decades will end in 2024. Can we hazard any sensible conjectures of such a distant period, especially when only a few people from my age-group will still be alive, and those aged 20 years now, will be retiring then? After all, it is no easy matter to give in to the temptation to pursue long-term visions when the majority of citizens have considerable difficulties in fixing tasks a year ahead, and when professional planners, overpowered by the crisis, would be glad to have much more data to realistically design short-term plans.

The Past Treated As A Lesson

To be sure, we've been celebrating the 40th anniversary of socialist Poland in a holiday mood, but this has scarcely resembled the excessive enthusiasm that accompanied the completion of the previous decades. The present jubilee has been taking place in a mood of deep reflection not just on what Poland has achieved which it can be satisfied with, or even proud of. Thought have also turned to what Poland has not done although it could have, what it didn't do because it was unable to, and on what should be done to use the existing opportunities in a better or different manner in the future. In this sense the border line between the past and the coming 40 year period is not merely a calendar convention but, above all, it is a turning point in historical awareness: the future demands that lessons are learnt from the past.

Without treating the past forty years as a historical lesson, it is impossible to enter the next 40 year period with anything but a dim view. If nothing happens without any reason in the best of possible worlds, then the dialectic of continuity and negation is the only sensible method to produce social ideology and practice.

I repeat: continuity and rejection. The balance of the past four decades is burdened with the assumption that it is necessary to weigh up properly their good and bad aspects. This is the method employed not only by propagandists and journalists, but also, traditionally, by academies inclined to court Aristotelianism (who believe in "the only correct golden mean"). Meanwhile the present shape of the country, as it is experienced and evaluated by both politicians and the man in the street, provides sufficient evidence and a basis for deciding what should be continued and what must (should, can and must) be changed.

The principle of continuity will--and should--determine the two fundamental areas of national existence: geopolitics and the political system.

The cataclysm of the possible World War III would create a world with no frontiers, however, this would be a world without the nations that are currently there, in short, it would be a world without men. Poland spreading from the Oder to the Bug and from the Baltic to the Sudeten and the Carpathian Mts., neighboring on its allies, is a stable factor in the European order and the optimum territorial solution for the nearly 40 million people (which will probably increase by another 10 million in the period under discussion). Just as it was a tremendous success of the past epoch to resettle [people] and to comprehensively consolidate the organizational and cultural order within the new territory of the state, in the same way, in the future Poles should consolidate this order, ensuring not only that there are places to work and live for the new, ever more numerous generations, but also for a rational spatial structure for distributing higher values. I treat the announcement of the establishment of new (hopefully good) universities in several border towns as a modest contribution and a symptom of a far-sighted policy for the future in this respect. Poland does not begin--and does not end--in its center, but in every town and village on its border. To culturally and economically develop the Polish borders or, to put it in other words, to strengthen the Polish borders is the long-term task, continuing the transformations started in the 1940s.

Questions about the continuity of the process of building socialism in Poland in the future are no longer under consideration in one sense: that of useless insipid academic consideration of abstract ideas.

During the next 40 years Poland will continue to exist and develop as a socialist country, both as an independent part of the greater whole, which is the system of socialist countries, as well as a part of the historical process of the necessary socialization of production and consumption. This latter determines moves internal to the system, disregarding economic and political disturbances and various detailed social options. According to my assessment a positive majority (including all thinking people) amongst the Poles see no chance now, what is more important, any need to replace socialism by any other

system. A similar majority want, however, to make use of all the existing opportunities for development.

The latter element was apparent in certain efforts at reform attempted almost throughout the entire 40 year period (especially in the second [postwar] decade, despite the unquestionable achievements of that time). The situation did become more complicated, however, in the crisis periods of 1956, 1968-70 and 1980-81. No doubt, this element is also apparent today and that is why the general desire to expose all the good aspects of socialism and to adjust them to the specific character of the Poles can become the main engine of the country's future. I understand all this in a very simple manner: either the achievement of the system's objective values will become the guideline for the state's program and the necessary national energy will be released or traditionalism and a return to the strategy of small mistakes will prevail and then people will become indifferent [toward any programs] for many long years to come (after all, such symptoms of hopelessness regarding the country's future and of escape into the privacy [of people's close personal circles of family and friends] have been apparent for several years).

A List of Shortcomings

In this way we are entering the most interesting arena, that of the dialectical negation of the practices of the past 40 years. Negation can be manifested as a spontaneous movement appearing among contradictions or--if the movement is a conscious one--as an intentional program of change. I myself am an adherent of the conscious shaping of history by human subjects, especially if you are aware that sooner or later (i.e. in a different manner and later) history will find a proper response to serious structural inconveniences.

The list of systemic shortcomings is long. The most serious, however, is the problem of the system's relative inability to continuously mobilize people, in a manner guaranteed by strong economic mechanisms. The system naturally guarantees social security. In practice, however, this is confused with the irrational privilege of idling at your job.

I say that within the framework of the badly understood idea of socialist humanism, a secondary class division into working and non-working people was born. The latter exploit the former, while the former are thus deprived of any motivation to work creatively. This conflict causes a potential (and in propitious conditions--real) paralysis of human activity. I treat this simplified thesis of mine as fundamental to the Marxist, class interpretation of certain negative phenomena occurring in the past 40 years. Some people talk about the need to revalue work and to revive its ethics. I would recommend a reversal of this interdependence, i.e. a permanent struggle for an economic reform so profound that the citizen's social position would result only from his work and that no-one would prey on the alienated work of others. In such circumstances, the [work] ethos would be spontaneously created. Needless to say, the above should apply to the whole social ladder--from its very bottom right to the top. It is well known that pay that is not equivalent to the objective results of work produces a general demand for income levelling (sometimes identified with socialist equality by pseudo-defenders of the people).

The next 40 years in Poland must break with the dogma of the majority relying on individuals, disregarding these individuals' contribution to the general good. Therefore it is indispensable that Poles return to the sources: "To everyone according to his work." No doubt, the state and the working people (I emphasize: working people not those nominally employed) will face the resistance of the non-working people, however, there is no other way out except to overcome this resistance if the country is to flourish economically and to release fully the mechanism of human initiative and if, before this, Poland plans to remove itself from its present discreditable position on the list of countries whose economy is unstable, burdened by debts and prone to crisis.

During the past 40 years Poland educated millions of people. The knowledge and skills of many of them were never utilized while much of the intellectual potential was simply let slip. Certain comparisons (e.g. the number of graduate engineers vs. genuine Polish technological developments) are just sad. The next 40 year period must overcome the barrier of the relative technological and, broadly speaking, intellectual dependence. We cannot afford--after all, the majority of developed countries cannot do this either--total versatility, still, Poland must extricate itself from the imminent blind alley of the monoculture of raw materials and semi-finished products. For several years the economy's reorientation toward selective, top quality world-standard production has been wishful thinking voiced even by the highest authorities. Poland should return to this idea as soon as possible. You can also underscore the need to give an absolute priority to farming. The Polish soil must yield crops according to its potential, not according to a lowered ceiling of the potential of a deficient agriculture and an unresponsive industry. This is quite feasible within the next two decades.

Unity and Discipline

The economy should impose discipline on society. This discipline, even an iron one, should be regulated by economic laws, including ones that would curb the old habits of many Poles of sham, botched work and laziness that go together with the desire to find an anarchistic outlet for the Polish temperament in institutionalized disorganizing of work (from top to bottom). At the same time, it is necessary that social structures be democratized under the well-known slogans of self-government and socialization of the state. To allow for the maximum freedom of expression and creation of values and for a minimum amount of spontaneous activity that throws into chaos the area of common activity and, above all, to abide by collectively arrived at decisions is a logical idea, derived from the dialectical negation of the past 40 years, applicable to the coming decades.

Can all this be achieved? Certainly, on condition, however, that Poles do not set their heels squarely into the ground to defend stereotypes and dogmas and instead open their eyes wide to numerous different, often better and more modern, detailed methods of the functioning of the socialist system. These methods must be socialist in spirit. That was the intention of the 9th Party Congress which announced that it is not socialism that should be blamed for the mistakes and the [current] crisis, but its shortcomings and deviations from its ideology.

The country's internal policy will certainly aim at building a new unity, expressing the main interests of all Poles. In a secular and modern state there must be room for everyone, no matter what his philosophical and religious beliefs and other non-ideological choices are. You can hope that the Catholic Church, without taking the future religiousness of the Poles for granted, will fulfill its function of a religious community to people's moral benefit, while leaving--according to the best and tested patterns--secular problems to the secular state. Still, Poland will need a new concept for its policy towards Poles living abroad. The present state of the [Polish] emigration--very complex, to be sure--should not obscure the fact that there are great possibilities to bind many millions of Poles living abroad to the old country in a different manner than has been the case so far. (This should be feasible especially in the long-term perspective.) Poland should observe how other nations treat their expatriates.

I am full of optimism. I believe that my optimism is supported by reality and (often concealed) human desires. However, the program for the next 40 years should be expressed in a conditional mood. Still, my arguments are strong. What I have written above is an indirect form of discussing what is professionally closest to me, i.e. the state of social science. I do believe that the next 40 year period will produce much bolder works than those published so far. The adherents of the idea of continuity alone cannot be the only representatives of the dialectic of continuation and negation. You must also be able to promptly and explicitly negate what should be negated for the sake of creating a world at least slightly better than the present one. However, Polish intellectuals are wise after the event.

CSO: 2600/302

FUNERAL MANIFESTS RIGHTS, DIGNITY OF NATION

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 46, 11 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Tadeusz Szyma: "He Was And Remains Among Us"]

[Text] Two weeks after the abduction and cruel murder of Fr. Jerzy Popieluszko, as he was coming back from a pastoral service, a great funeral was held in the Warsaw district of Zoliborz for a modest priest. Valiantly dedicated to serving God and people his martyr's death elevated him to the heights of heroism without any idealizing undertakings. As the Primate of Poland rightly emphasized in his homily, this was a historic burial. The scale and significance of the event, attended by an enormous crowd of his compatriots from literally every corner of Poland, who although immersed in profound mourning were certainly not broken by a sense of defeat, suggest an analogy to the unforgettable religious, patriotic demonstration of the funeral of Cardinal Wyszynski. In referring to those May 1981 funeral ceremonies, people said "everything that Poland is made of" was present there. This time, too, Monsignore Teofil Bogucki, the parish priest at Stanislaw Kostka's Church in which Father Jerzy worked as a vicar for the last few years, said in his farewell speech: "It seems to me that I can see almost all of Poland in front of me." This was not just an impression but a reality in which one could immerse oneself and from which one could draw the strength to persist. The hope, nay, the certainty, that this would be so drew thousands of people to Warsaw from all regions, whole trainfuls of them, and countless inhabitants of Warsaw marched from early in the morning through a lifeless city. A pilgrim approaching Zoliborz could have thought for a moment that he was seeing a repetition of last June, when an even bigger migration of people went to meet the Holy Father. Some people carried the same flags and banners, with an occasional fresh inscription added to the faded cloth.

It is part of Polish national tradition that the funerals of spiritual leaders turn into manifestations. On Saturday, November 3, a fresh, painful link was added to the chain. However, in the funeral rosary of dates commemorating tragic events in Polish history, this link will be an exceptionally powerful knot of life. We Poles have always drawn immeasurable spiritual strength from funeral ceremonies at which we paid tribute to the well-known and lesser-known greats and the nameless legions. This is the way it has been and the way it will be this time, but this time the exceptional character of the murdered priest and the circumstances of his martyr's death, the nature of the

historic occasion in which it occurred make it--without any prophecies--certain that his victory after death will prove exceptionally faithful and triumphant. This conviction was guaranteed by every person present around the Zoliborz church, whether inside the iron fence surrounding the churchyard, covered by a thick coat of flowers, wreaths and banners, in the wooded square in front of the church or in the neighboring streets far and wide, packed by the united crowd as tightly as was the huge Paris Commune Square several hundred meters away. The same applies to all those who could only be present in their thoughts by the plain brown coffin placed in a red-and-white hearse bound by a red stole and topped with a chalice covered with a golden paten. These unequalled symbols of martyrdom related human sacrifice and human suffering to the sacrifice of Jesus. [----] [Law of July 31, 1981, on the control of publications and entertainment, Article 2.1 DZIENNIK USTAW No. 20, item 99, as amended in DZIENNIK USTAW No. 44/1983, item 204]. So much has been said and it is so hard to say anything, and yet, now that the sorrowful toll of the Zoliborz bells have died out, although they still echo, we must contemplate, repeat, pass on to others and develop everything said during the long wait before the funeral ceremony and during the ceremony proper. Everyone must do this according to his own calling to defeat evil with goodness, to respond with truth to lies, with justice to wrong, with courage to intimidation, with strength of spirit to brute force. We must convey not only the words but also the images, share them as a reflection of the solidarity of hearts, see to it that the last will of the martyred priest, which is nothing other than the evangelical message of John Paul II rendered in concrete form, becomes ever more fully a part of the reality of Poland's daily public life. In particular, we must see to it that no one never again dares to deliver Cain's blow to any advocate of human dignity and defender of inalienable human rights.

The thought-provoking excerpts from the evangelically simple homilies delivered by Fr. Popieluszko that were recited during the wait for the funeral procession (and also after the coffin was despoited in a safe grave near the church) were interspersed with songs, prayer and the repeated chanting of the world "Zwyciezaj! [Triumph], the faithful's reply to the laconical "Zwyciezyles" [You have triumphed] from the priest leading the common prayer. These words refer to Christ and Mary and to Christ's Witness of truth, love and justice, his victory in the grave and beyond the grave; the congregation's calls for more victories were addressed not only to him but appealed to all participants in these moving ceremonies.

The readiness to provide one's own, personal answer was confirmed in many cases by swollen eyes and a stealthily shed tear, the faces distorted by painful convulsions; however, more often, the faces were calm. The expression of moral determination was softened as in the delicate features of Father Jerzy, whose countless images people held in their hands, wore in lapels or displayed on huge photographs along the church walls. This was a telling sign of the consolidation of the sense of internal peace in people, the need for consistency and straightforwardness in action that one draws from an unshakeable conviction of the rightness of one's cause, worthy of much, very much, even the ultimate sacrifice. Therefore, despite the enormous suffering and the deepening awareness of the irreparable loss suffered by the Polish Church and

Polish society, it can coolly be said, without plunging into rhetoric, that his funeral was an exceptionally powerful demonstration of life. It was an astonishing manifestation of the will of a united nation to live in dignity and with respect for rights not bestowed by man nor can man take them away, rights that man acquires at the moment of conception, reaffirms through his life and, in extreme cases, seals with a martyr's death for others, for each of the least of his brethren.

CSO: 2600/296

IDEAS TO COMBAT ALCOHOLISM PRESENTED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 45, 4 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Ernest Skalski: "Selected Problems of Contemporary Alcoholism"]

[Text] According to the Government spokesman, last August Poles consumed 12.2 million liters of 100 percent alcohol. This information was intended to indicate that the appeals for abstinence from drinking during that month had been ineffective, which allegedly showed the low prestige of those issuing the appeals. However, other conclusions, too, may be drawn from this information.

One month is a little too short a time to make inferences about annual consumption, especially as--according to the same report by the spokesman--consumption varies substantially from month to month. So let us consider July and August together: the monthly consumption of alcohol averaged 11.7 million liters. To be on the safe side, let us round it off to 12 million liters. This makes 114 million liters during the whole year, but let us again round it off to 150 million liters. If this year's consumption of alcohol turns out to be that high, this will probably mean that a statistical Pole will have drunk 10.2 liters of vodka. But wine accounts for a small part and beer for a major part of the alcohol drunk here. So this figure would mean that the consumption of vodka continues to decrease.

Compare the table below:

	1960	1970	1975	1978	1980	1981	1982	19
vodka consumed per one inhabitant, in liters	6.0	8.2	11.5	14.0	15.9	10.7	10.5	10. 2
vodka sales in billion zloty	13.2	32.8	71.8	108.7	130.0	145.9	316.5	444. 5
the share of spending on vodka in the population's money incomes in percent	4-5*	6.9	8.1	8.9	8.6	7.4	9.7	11. 0
accumulation in the production of vodka in billion zloty**	11.5	28.7	62.8	95.0	114.0	127.5	276.6	388. 5
its share in the state's revenues in percent**	5.5	7.4	8.7	8.6	9.4	9.5	11.8	15. 0

* estimated; figures in the Statistical Yearbooks are not fully comparable.

** accumulation before 1983 estimated by analogy with the "List 500" for 1983, published by ZARZADZANIE, No. 6/84

However, simple observation does not at all indicate that the extent of excessive drinking is diminishing. It is generally believed that the illegal distillation of spirit is on the increase, but in this case all estimates are illusory. But certainly a major volume of alcohol is distilled illegally, which substantially influences the overall consumption of alcohol. This would mean that the spread of drinking and alcoholism can no longer be presented in figures. Information is replaced by speculation and reliable judgments are replaced by intuition. While getting to know a dangerous social phenomenon is a prerequisite to fighting it, the lack of information makes it difficult to take appropriate steps. This is probably the greatest menace created by moonshining. The state budget can cope somehow under any conditions: however much alcohol the state sells, its revenues from alcohol sales increase. As regards the quality of moonshine vodka, it is difficult to generalize, but one could hardly imagine that it is possible to manufacture something tasting worse than "Vistula" "Baltic Vodka" and "Czysta," which are the staple brands of vodka selling for 550-600 zloty per half liter.

[----] [Law of July 31, 1981, on the Control of the Press and Publications, Article 2, Sub-Paragraphs 1 and 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 44, Item 99, amended: 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No. 44, Item 204)]. The manufacturers most often claim that they are observing technological norms and recipes and are encountering objective difficulties. But when customers are not happy, this means that, whatever the norms and recipes, the suppliers are to blame.

Naturally, when one talks about the illegal distillation of alcohol, one has to resign oneself to speculations. However, some of them seem well grounded. One is that, at least in the cities, moonshine vodka is not produced and, generally, is not consumed by addicted drinkers and alcoholics. These usually buy the cheapest alcohol which happens to be available; they buy it in shops or speak-easies, but they cannot wait in order to save money and do not care about the taste of what they drink. So it may be hypothesized that those who drink occasionally and in moderation are gradually switching to moonshine vodka, while the spread of excessive drinking and alcoholism is disguised in those approximate 10 liters of vodka per one statistical inhabitant.

In an interview for EXPRESS WIECZORNY, Director of the Polmos liquor-distributing enterprise Lucjan Pyzik expressed his conviction that illegal distillation begins when the average wages cannot buy 60-70 half-liter bottles of vodka per month. While in 1980 the average wages bought 58 bottles of the cheapest vodka, in 1983 this figure was cut by more than half and amounted to 25 bottles i.e., one bottle for a day's wages. The sales of vodka, no longer rationed at that time, dropped by about one-third, while the actual volume of consumption became unknown. Pyzik believes that a bottle of vodka should now cost 300-400 zloty and says that his firm is prepared to sell it at this price. Lowering the price, however, does not seem to be a fortunate idea, as it may give a sudden boost to consumption, but probably will not bring about an equal reduction of illegal distilling. There is no good way out of this situation. A freeze on vodka prices would be relatively the least detrimental, as inflation is making it relatively cheaper; this year the average wages amounted to the price of over 30 bottles.

The only problem is what to do with the recently enacted law on combatting alcoholism, which requires that alcohol should become increasingly expensive. This is what happens when a legislative act serves exclusively as proof of the lawmaker's good intentions. Perhaps in this case the legislature should have paid less attention to the opinions of activists of the anti-alcoholic movement, and more--to that of the Polmos director.

Excessive drinking and alcoholism are evil things. Drinking, even in moderation, is dangerous and of a dubious moral value. In this situation it is, to say the least, awkward, to request that the quality of alcohol--vodka in particular, should improve, that it should be sold at a decent price, somehow affordable to the customers, and that the distribution practices of stores, bars and restaurants should be honest. Nevertheless, charging exorbitant prices and the manufacture of bad-quality goods are always blameworthy and certainly do not serve to combat alcoholism.

It has been repeatedly stressed that the losses caused by excessive drinking and alcoholism considerably surpass the profits from alcohol sales, not only from the point of view of general public interests, but also those of the state.

The state derives a certain profit from the production and sales of alcohol but also incurs losses, chiefly as the owner of nearly all production capacities, which are not being used properly, largely due to excessive drinking. Therefore, the elimination of alcohol abuse would be a very effective form of long-term investment. But while it is not clear when, where and what kind of effects it would bring, the profit from alcohol sales is concrete, rapid and, as a matter of fact, absolutely necessary in the present economic system.

The sum of this profit does not matter so much as what kind of money it is, as there are different kinds of zloty in Poland, which are hardly convertible. The money paid by a state-owned steelworks for coal extracted by a state-owned mine is not an economic category, but quite an arbitrarily fixed exchange rate. It is as if a farmer compared the value of the straw which he carried from one corner of his barn to another. But in the turnover between the state and individual people, i.e., between different kinds of economic units, the zloty becomes money again. In this way the state buys labor, not only as wages in the socialized sector, but also because the procurement of farm products and social security payments are forms of paying for labor. This is practically the only way for the state to buy its citizens' work. "People" will spend this money on whatever they can. About 90 percent of the population's money incomes are paid out to them in various forms by the state.

It is in this turnover, which is of essential importance for the economy and for citizens' lives, that the share of vodka has been steadily increasing. It is increasing even regardless of how much is drunk and of what kind of alcohol. [----] [Law of July 31, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Sub-Paragraphs 1 and 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 20, Item 99, amended: 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No. 44, Item 204)].

The liquor industry was the focus of public attention when ZARZADZENIE published and POLITYKA commented on the list of 500 leading Polish enterprises, of which Polmos was unquestionably the first. The comparison is too glaring due to the selection of an organizational key, according to which the entire liquor industry is in one enterprise, while the metallurgical, refining, meat and other industries are divided into units. However, even if total figures for individual industries are compared, Polmos is doing much better (2.7 times) than the oil processing industry, which is next on the list (388.5 billion zloty and 145 billion zloty of capital respectively). The first accounts for one-third of the total capital in industry, and the second--for slightly over 12 percent. Naturally, there is little use in comparing this with the amount of capital, employment and so on, as the capital accumulation of Polmos has aspects which are of an extra-economic character; nevertheless, it sustains the economy, ruining it in the long run.

Vodka is cheap in Poland only if you compare its price with the black-market price of the dollar. Compared with the average wages, it is very expensive. The opinion that there is little to buy instead of vodka, which has been voiced for many years and is quite true, contains an evaluation of market supplies. You cannot buy more meat and fats if you decide not to buy vodka. There are no attractive manufactured commodities to buy at the price of a bottle of vodka. And genuinely sought-after goods, which practically-speaking are available only at black-market prices, elude all comparison.

For instance, a small Fiat, whose real price for a normal buyer is about 600,000 zloty, costs the equivalent of 1,100 bottles of vodka. Given last year's consumption, it takes a statistical family about 18 years to drink that much. A family without drunks and alcoholics, and these families are still in the majority, drinks several times less than that.

Anyway, it is only in such families that vodka is an object of calculations, and its price and the presence or absence of substitute goods on the market are taken into account. Once an addicted person is beyond a certain limit, vodka becomes an indispensable commodity. Increases in the price of vodka do not in any way prevent addicted drinkers from drinking and merely impoverish their families. So it seems that this is not an effective instrument of combatting alcoholism in any social group.

If in the 1930's the per capita consumption of vodka did not exceed 3 liters, and at times dropped to under 2 liters. This was due not only to its price, the customers' purchasing power and the presence of all the imaginable goods on the market, but work, too, acted as an important brake on drinking, this despite the fact that regulations banning drinking or ordering sobriety at work were next to nonexistent. In some situations, vodka was indeed a part of the job customs, for instance in the building trade. Drinking-bouts and brawls did happen, but mostly on Saturdays and holidays. It was chiefly for that reason that the process of becoming an alcoholic took many years.

Nowadays a situation similar to this exists in other countries, where well-organized and productive work does not agree with drunkenness, although it is compatible with the habit of having a drink or two at meals.

The experiences of the last 40 years show that in the vast majority of cases work and drinking can go together. Naturally, there are limits, but they are pretty flexible. Moreover, drinking is usually the prerequisite to and the method of finding connections, which give the person concerned considerably more benefits than steady and productive work, even in places where work is possible. Even if this popular view is exaggerated, its very existence is eloquent.

One of the curiosities of the Polish reality is the collapse of the catering business. No matter how much criticism bars and restaurants deserve, drinking in those places was a certain distinct and public activity, subject to some form of control. The place itself was a factor integrating the community and an element of culture, this despite all our objections to drinking.

Over the last 20-30 years, a victorious battle against dives had been fought in Poland; this battle justified the restaurants' growing profits from increasing mark-ups on a shrinking volume of alcohol sales. Besides, restaurants more and more often served the staff's own alcohol supplies. Given the mark-up, which often exceeded 100 percent of the retail price, serving alcohol in public became the most profitable activity in Poland. It did not pay to look after the kitchen or the customer.

Pushed out of bars and restaurants, drinking spread to other places and became involved with all the other activities particularly with work. While one generation back people went to a bar to celebrate some event, in the years that have followed, they would bring vodka to work. Economic calculation proved to have a stronger impact than the bans instituted in the successive anti-alcoholic laws.

It is not the ban on drinking at work, but the drastic restriction on alcohol mark-up at restaurants, which is envisaged in the new law, that could arrest this process in the long run. This indeed seems to be the most reasonable provision of the entire act. [----] [Law of July 31, 1981, on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Sub-Paragraph 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 20, Item 99, amended: 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No. 44, Item 204)].

CSO: 2600/298

STUDENT'S UNION SUFFERS FROM LOW MEMBERSHIP

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 46, 11 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Piotr Gadzinowski: "Coming Out of Hiding"]

[Text] The First Congress of the Polish Students' Union [ZSP] is due soon. I learned this summer, at the organization's headquarters in Ordynacka street, that the ZSP had 41,000 members. So it looks like the organization is growing in strength, with brighter prospects opening up for Polish students. However...

This very same summer, sociologists from the Institute for Youth Research set out to poll ZSP members. Alas, ZSP members proved to be exceptionally scarce, empirically inaccessible material. The brave sociologists scoured the country for SZP members, trying to hunt them down anywhere they were known to congregate. But with little success. For instance, during a door-to-door search in the Akropol--a students' hall of residence in Cracow---they only managed to turn up 4 (four) ZSP members.

At a ZSP summer camp in Nowogard near Szczecin, only 3 (three) students confessed under cross-examination to actually being ZSP members. During further interrogations, however, they showed themselves to be made of stem stuff indeed, refusing to disclose the names of ZSP activists, or the organization's contact points. Under the circumstances, the poll proved a complete failure.

The ZSP Congress is due to be held soon. There is every indication it will take place at a time of progressing normalization. Hence I would like to issue my own personal pre-congress appeal:

To all the many clandestine members of the ZSP! Come out of hiding! Turn yourselves in and resume normal organizational work!

CSO: 2600/299

BRIEFS

RECOGNITION OF CATHOLIC LEADER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Father Ioan Robu is recognized in the position of Bishop-head of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 83, 30 Oct 84 p 4]

RELEASE OF INTERIOR OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Girba is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the interior and secretary of the Political Council of the Ministry of Interior. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 85, 6 Nov 84 p 5]

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTERS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Maria Flucsa is relieved of her position as deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets and appointed deputy minister of light industry. Comrade Steliana Istodorescu is relieved of her position as deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 85, 6 Nov 84 p 6]

NEW PEOPLE'S COUNCILS OFFICIALS--Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 85 of 6 November 1984 page 4 reports that the following have been appointed first deputy chairmen of the executive committees of the people's councils in the respective counties: Ion Geana, in Braila; Nicolae Girba, in Caras-Severin; Stefan Negret, in Cluj; Ion Stiuca, in Dolj; Ion Ciorba, in Harghita; Aurel Costea, in Maramures; Constantin-Ion Deaconu, in Mehedinti; Alexandru Reimer, in Sibiu. [Editorial Report]

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I no 85, 6 Nov 84 pp 4, 5 reports that the following have been appointed deputy chairmen of the executive committees of the People's Councils in the respective counties: Ioan Cotoara, in Arad; Natalia Jipa, in Bacau; Paraschiva Elisabeta Csucsuj, in Bihor; Constantin Raducu, in Bistrita-Nasaud; Lazar Baciucu, in Botosani; Veronica-Valentina Ene, in Braila; Nicolae Spinu, in Buzau; Maria Nutu, in Caras-Severin; Ioana Lancranjan, in Calarasi; Ilie Gabra, in Covasna; Georgeta Barau, in Dimbovita; Silvia Cojocaru, in Galati; Dumitra Tilici, in Giurgiu; Gheorghe Vasiu, in Harghita; Ion Ionescu, in Honedoara; Gheorghe Ilia, and Ecaterina Bente, in Maramures; Angela Isaroiu and Iulian Veres, in Mures; Amza Saceanu, in Neamt; Gabriela Iordache and

Marin Guta, Olt; Cornelia Anton, in Prahova; Ioan Retegan, and Viorica Cirti, in Salaj; Grigore Beldean, in Sibiu; Constantin Constantin, in Suceava; Petre Ignat, in Teleorman; Stefan Ilies, in Tulcea; Alexandrina Mocanu, in Vaslui; Lucretia Matei, in Vilcea; Alexandru Stanciu, in Vrancea; Ana Spirache, in Giurgiu. Elena Verona Burtea has been appointed deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council.
[Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700/47

SUKRIJA INTERVIEWED ON COLOGNE RADIO

LD271442 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1301 GMT 27 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)--Ali Sukrija, Central Committee Presidency president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) has rejected the opinion that the idea on one's own, democratic roads of socialist transformation is in a crisis, but, on the contrary, he set out, the idea is today more broadly accepted than ever.

In an interview to Cologne Radio, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sukrija stressed that the LCY has and continues fully to uphold the strengthening of the policy of independence of parties and their right to determine sovereignly, in given social and historical conditions, roads and methods for implementing their historic goals.

"We have always maintained and continue to maintain the stand that in implementing their goals every revolutionary movement and party is responsible to its working class and people," Sukrija said.

Sukrija cited an example of Yugoslavia which took its own road in 1941 and, despite numerous difficulties, persisted on this road. Commenting on the world public's [word indistinct] interest in Yugoslavia, its economic difficulties in particular, Sukrija assessed that the (?interest) of certain circles in the world is not always based on good intentions and objective views.

The above is particularly evident in relation to steps taken in Yugoslavia, in keeping with the country's constitution and laws, against individuals who come into conflict with the constitution and violate the laws, directing their activity against the fundamental achievements of the Yugoslav revolution, Sukrija pointed out.

CSO: 2800/103

LC PLENUM SPEAKER DENIES UNITARIANISM

AU232008 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 84

[Excerpt from speech by Slobodan Milosevic at the morning session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia in Belgrade on 23 November--recorded]

[Text] We must be aware that the opponents of the necessary changes in the political system brand us as unitarians whenever we speak about unity, that they impute to us absurd intentions of wanting to abolish the republics and provinces, and of advocating the abolition or reduction of the aid to the underdeveloped regions, and so forth. However, this kind of labelling, this sort of abuse can stick no longer. We must free ourselves of the complex of unitarianism.

The Serbian communists have never fought for unitarianism. On the contrary, any attempt at such a policy was foiled. The complex of unitarianism and of the feeling of guilt for the behavior of the Serbian bourgeoisie in the past has been unjustly, but for a long time, inflicted on the Serbian communists, although it is known that the Serbian bourgeoisie in this respect had the support of the entire bourgeoisie, and had against it the entire, united Yugoslav proletariat regardless of whether its national origins were Serbian, Macedonian, or Croatian.

Despite these facts, well-known and indisputable as they may be, the Serbian communists are constantly in the position that they have to cleanse themselves of a stain which is not theirs, and to restrain themselves when unity and the Yugoslav state are at stake, so that they may not be reproached for an inclination toward unitarianism. There is no justification for an inclination displayed by the bourgeois class on the basis of its class interest at a certain historical period to be tied to an entire nation, and especially to its progressive forces, the workers class and the communists, who through their entire history were, on the contrary, the protagonists of the most progressive ideas, among others also those about Yugoslavia as a community in which all its peoples live freely and equally.

Therefore we have no reason to bow our head to anybody. On the contrary, we have every reason to say what we think, for we struggle for socialist self-management.

CSO: 2800/103

MACEDONIA'S ANDREEVSKI ON BULGARIA'S PRETENSIONS

LD262312 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] Skopje, Nov 26 (TANJUG)--The greater Bulgaria illusions and the denial of the Macedonian nation's identity are the constant obsessions of the political and military leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

This was stressed today by President of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Dr Vros Andreevski, who said that all Bulgaria's scientific, political and other resources are geared to this as well as to efforts at a gross fabrication of the history of the Macedonian nation.

Speaking at a celebration of the 40th anniversary of the first conference of the Macedonian People's Front, Andreevski recalled the actions of the fascist occupying army and the Bulgarian apparatus which was then allegedly engaged in a liberation mission in Macedonia.

"Please to allow the Bulgarian Army to take part in the closing operations against the thrid Reich's wild hordes in the Balkans in order to give it a chance to clear its name, tarnished by its criminal mission in Yugoslavia and the Balkans, have been forgotten," said Andreevski.

He underlined that Yugoslavia's over-all relations with Bulgaria, as well as with neighbouring Greece, would be far better if these countries did not deny the existence of the parts of the Macedonian nation living there, i.e., he explained, if their stands were in keeping with the U.N. declaration on human rights.

CSO: 2800/103

YUGOSLAVIA

RIBICIC HOLDS TALKS WITH MEXICAN PARTY DELEGATION

LD262342 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 26 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)--Mitja Ribicic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks today with a delegation of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico [PSUM], led by (Pablo Pascal Moncallo), a member of the PSUM Central Committee Political Commission (Jose Waldenberg Karakowski), a member of the PSUM Central Committee secretariat, is also a member of the delegation.

During a friendly meeting, it was stressed that the LCY and PSUM are interested in expanding and intensifying mutual cooperation. It was pointed out that realistic possibilities for such cooperation exists. Both sides expressed concern over the worsened situation in Central America, especially the increasingly aggressive outside pressure on Nicaragua, the attempt at its destabilization, and the threat to achievements of the Sandinista revolution. In this connection, it was stressed that no aggressive acts against sovereign countries and no recourse to force against Nicaragua and other countries were permissible because it is the inalienable right of every country to freely choose its own political, social, and economic system.

During the talks, support was given for all the actions of the Contadora group of countries and all the efforts in the direction of devising a lasting solution to the crisis in Central America through negotiations. In this context, the special role and the importance of the actions of the Nonaligned Movement countries were stressed.

CSO: 2800/103

DJURANOVIC, PLANINC RECEIVE TELEGRAMS FROM FOREIGN LEADERS

LD281523 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 28 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, November 28 (TANJUG)--On the occasion of Yugoslavia's national holiday, November 29--Republic Day--the Yugoslav state presidency and its President Veselin Djuranovic have received numerous telegrams from foreign statemens expressing good wishes for the further promotion of bilateral relations and for broader international relations.

People's Republic of Bangladesh President Mohammad Ershad stresses in his felicitations the two countries' commitment to the policy of non-alignment as an important factor for further strengthening bilateral relations and cooperation. In the same spirit, Guinean President Lansana Conte speaks of his government's readiness to uphold the constant expansion of Guinean-Yugoslav friendship.

Satisfaction over the successful development of relations with Yugoslavia is also expressed in telegrams sent by Cuban State Council President, Prime Minister and party leader Fidel Castro, Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq, Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma [President] U San Yu, India's President Zail Singh and Turkish President Kenan Evren.

A joint telegram from the Soviet Party Central Committee, the Supreme Presidium and the Ministerial Council to Yugoslav State Presidency President Veselin Djuranovic, League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency President Ali Sukrija and Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc expresses the conviction that "Soviet-friendship, born in the joint fight against fascism and the active cooperation between the Soviet Party and the LCY and the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and stemming from the firm basis of time-proved principles and agreement, will continue to steadily develop."

On the occasion of the holiday, felicitations and wishes for the prosperity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia have also been received from United Arab Emirates President Zayid ibn Sultan al-Nuhayyan, Australian Governor-General Ninian Stephen, Irish Republic President Dr Patrick Hillery and Maldives President Abdul Gayoom.

Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc has received messages of felicitations on the occasion of the Yugoslav national holiday, November 29, the day of the

republic, from Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Burma Premier U Maung Maung Kha, Cuban State Council President and Premier Fidel Castro, Polish Ministerial Council [President] Wojciech Jaruzelski, Algerian Premier Abdel Hamid Ibrahmi, Ministerial Council President of the German Democratic Republic Dr Willi Stoph and Mongolian Ministerial Council President Jambyn Batmonh.

The messages state cordial felicitations and best wishes for further progress of Yugoslavia and stress the desire for further strengthening friendly ties and comprehensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and the above countries.

Rajiv Gandhi stresses in his message historic ties of friendship between Yugoslavia and India and the two countries' commitment to the movement of non-alignment whose importance in international relations continually grows.

In his message Abdel Hamid Ibrahmi stresses the conviction that Yugoslavia and Algeria will continue efforts for the introduction of a new system in international relations which will guarantee peace and security to all countries in the world.

CSO: 2800/103

IDEOLOGICAL WORK CONFERENCE HELD IN CROATIA

AU241431 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 84 p 6

[TANJUG Report]

[Excerpts] The 2-day conference on ideological work has shown that people perceive problems and that we have many clever people, but it is up to the LC through its activities to make them come to the fore. There are a thousand matters a day in which anybody can show whether he is a Communist or not, without waiting for "directives from on high." Precisely in this respect we now have a significant immobilization of the LC membership.

With this assessment Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, concluded yesterday afternoon a 2-day conference on ideological work in the LC. In his assessment, the most important thing is to create the unity of the workers class, which is the most important bastion, and we must not allow it to work disunited. This requires that the LC provide solutions to the daily problems which face the class.

Who Needs This

DUGA accompanied the religious manifestations in Marija Bistrica with a series of articles on religiously mixed marriages, and without any comment of its own fanned national and religious passions. NIN, as it said, carried a more orthodox report on the celebrations that PRAVOSLAVLJE and it went so far in inflaming passions that it even expressed surprise at how it was possible that the newly built Orthodox church is smaller than the Catholic one, for statistics show that the Orthodox population prevails around Jasenovac. Or our DANAS--it was not necessary for DANAS to let fly immediately after NIN, so that it appears it is responding to it--goes and grades the suffering in Jasenovac according to a national basis, and it makes it appear that the Serbs were among the last according to suffering. Who needs that? Neither the patriarch nor Kuharic [Cardinal Kuharic of Zagreb] with whom we are so justifiably angry did this, but we did it. (Milan Rakas, at the conference on current problems of ideological work in the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia)

Cadres in Journalism

"It has been shown that Vladimir Bakaric was quite right when he warned a few years ago that VJESNIK lacks abilities, cadres, organization, and everything else needed to launch a political weekly, DANAS. It is now of less importance that he was right in general, regardless of DANAS, for he spoke above all about the system of one publishing house. DANAS is a problem not only of the editorial board of DANAS and not only of the VJESNIK publishing house, but of the overall cadre policy in the information media in the SR of Croatia. (Stipe Oreskovic, at the conference on current problems of ideological work in the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia)

CSO: 2800/103

DAILY REPORTS BELGRADE UNIVERSITY CAFETERIA BOYCOTT

AU271529 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 84 p 4

[Report by Vesna Peruncic]

[Excerpts] As of 1 November, new higher prices apply in Belgrade student dormitories and cafeterias. A slice of bread increased in price from 3 to 8 dinars, a pie with yogurt from 49 to 94 dinars, a cake from 16 to 40 dinars, meat salad from 95 to 178, and an apple costs 29 dinars. Students were completely uninformed; faced by this increase in prices, they began to grumble. At that time, the price of a slice of bread was reduced to a more reasonable 5 dinars. In the following days, posters and leaflets appeared in the Patrie Lumumba and Ivo Lola Ribar dormitories in the Student City, and they called for a "silent, dignified boycott." About a hundred students in the Student City took only bread and salt instead of the usual meal, and after a ritual procession left the cafeteria.

This lasted 3 days, and in Belgrade and beyond, various stories about "demonstrations" in the Student City in Belgrade began to spread, and "there was something behind them." A dozen journalists, chiefly from student information media, appeared on the scene. Although with their very presence they pressed for something to happen, to be said, or to be done, they could only learn through their polling of students that the students are complaining exclusively against the prices which they can no longer bear, that in most cases these were students from other republics or provinces, who get lower loans than local students and who see no other way to oppose the price increases. It is interesting that the majority did not know whether the boycott was organized or spontaneous.

Informal reports on who organized the silent procession in the Student City disagree with each other. It is a fact that the majority of those participating in the boycott were not proper residents of the dormitories but were external students or persons staying in the dormitories illegally. It is said that the ideological leader was a young man who completed his studies 5 years ago and has been staying at the dormitory ever since, officially doing nothing. Students do not know anything about any arrests or questioning, and they only emphatically request that those who joined the boycott spontaneously, without thinking, should be separated from the organizers.

CSO: 2800/103

GENERAL NADJ OPPOSES SPANISH VETERANS' LETTER

AU271533 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 24 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 24 Nov (TANJUG)--In an interview in Sunday's [25 November] VJESNIK, Kosta Nadj, army general and member of the Council of the Federation, refers to the recently held assembly of the Yugoslav volunteers in the Spanish Republican Army, or rather to a letter sent by the assembly to the LCY Central Committee expressing concern at the present social and economic situation in the country.

I am against letters and petitions of this kind. What have I got to write in a letter to my party? There is a place, a time, and a way for me to express my opinions in the LC and to struggle their implementation in a democratic process of decision-making, Nadj stated.

The Spanish Veterans Association letter--as much as I know about the Sarajevo assembly, for I did not attend it--was neither composed nor passed in a democratic procedure, according to the principle of democratic centralism.

Observing, however, that labels began to be affixed to Spanish veterans after the letter, Nadj remarked that they had been proving their revolutionary attitude and had proved it, and he appealed against such label slinging. Whoever is for brotherhood and unity, for socialist self-management and non-alignment, is on our side. We need not agree on other matters. We constantly swear upon a democratization of relations, but as soon as somebody speaks up in a way that differs from our phraseology, we are wont to affix a label on him, Nadj said.

He stressed, however, that the letter contains some views which he cannot accept. For instance: "We hoped that our advanced years will bring us rest..."

Assessing this as naive, Nadj pointed out that the revolution is not just one battle in one's youth, an enthusiasm, but a long process of change.

He further said that the leadership now enjoys our confidence. I myself, he added, on several occasions criticized the work of this leadership, work that has not always been an expression of the collective principle such as Tito advocated. Nevertheless, this does not mean, Nadj stressed, that I agree with the assessment about the maximum ideological and political responsibility of this leadership for the several failures. As much as it bears the blame for failures, it also deserves tribute for successes.

CSO: 2800/103

YUGOSLAVIA

ASSEMBLY OF ORTHODOX CLERGY HELD IN BELGRADE

LD280039 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 27 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)--The eighth regular assembly of the Federation of Associated Orthodox Clergy of Yugoslavia was held in Belgrade today, at which the 5-year work of the federation was summed up and tasks for the coming period set.

Among the numerous guests who greeted the assembly's delegates was Milan Uzelac, secretary of the SAWPY federal conference, who said that the Federation of the Associated Orthodox Clergy of Yugoslavia had already been operating for 95 years with great success, particularly in the conditions of our socialist society. In this time the federation had built up and nurtured the tradition of patriotic conduct on the part of its members. It was important that the federation brought together the majority of orthodox priests from all parts of the country, including members of the Macedonian and Romanian Orthodox churches. In the SAWPY Federal Conference we value highly cooperation with the federation and the activity of its members, associations and committees within the framework of the socialist alliance, Uzelac said.

In the lengthy opening report, which was presented by the federation secretary, Stanislaw Mitrovic, at the assembly, it was stressed that the cooperation between the federation and the SAWPY had been more developed and all-round in the past period than in previous years. This was borne out by the fact that there was less and less of a sectarian attitude towards the priests when they were being oppressed or elected to bodies of the socialist alliance. In certain environments there was a bureaucratic attitude on the part of individuals or small groups in the organs of authority towards the priests, which reactionary-minded circles in the church skillfully exploited by claiming that an anti-church policy is being pursued in our country, Father Mitrovic stressed.

CSO: 2800/103

FEDERAL SOCIAL COUNCIL DISPLAYS DIFFERENCES

AU251649 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 84 p 5

[Report by Lj. Zorkic]

[Excerpts] The unanimity of the members of the Federal Social Council for the Problems of the Social System at their session yesterday was achieved, one may say, in the assessment that the nonimplementation of the role of the sociopolitical organizations--as Milan Kucan put it--was one of the chief causes of the nonfunctioning of the political system.

In the assessment as to why this happens and in the views of how the situation can be changed, differences were manifested according to the positions adopted in advance in the republican and provincial social councils.

The organized socialist forces have not succeeded in their activities to clear up ideological dilemmas in time, to be a resolute protagonist of social criticism, and, above all, an initiator of such wide actions that would be able to break the resistance which arises in the struggle for overcoming the present difficulties and for further self-managing social development, and to mobilize all the creative forces for the purpose of realizing the aims and the tasks facing the society.

This has been particularly manifested in connection with common interests....

This statement, by introductory speaker Jovan Dejanovic, was supported in the discussion that lasted several hours, but which, unfortunately--as Ferhad Kotoric remarked--did not run according to what had been agreed on beforehand; instead, the council members read prepared reports expressing positions of "their communities."

CSO: 2800/103

RADMAN DISCUSSES DECLINE OF YOUTH LEAGUE AFTER 1968

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 84 pp 4-7

[Interview with Goran Radman, chairman of the Presidium of the Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, by Zeljko Kruselj: "The Bitterness of a Generation Which Has Run Aground"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The political scientist Goran Radman, chairman of the Presidium of the Conference of the SSOJ [Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia], is one of those officials who is straightforward in pointing to the untenable practice of taking a narrow-minded attitude toward young people. Although he is at the same time aware that he is "strictly subjective," he still does not take pains to "objectify" the situation, since he says that one of the concomitant weaknesses of bodies of youth organization leaders is precisely that they "understand" everything and "objectify" every situation to the maximum. And while they are "examining the totality of relations," the position of young people in society is becoming increasingly marginal.

[Question] Recently there has again been a great deal of talk about the 1968 student movement. However, the youth organization leadership bodies have not yet managed to have that phenomenon subjected to scientific research. When one follows some of your earlier statements, one can conclude that in a way you regard that year as a turning point in the development of the political commitment of young people.

[Answer] The student rebellion was actually an attempt to radicalize the youth movement on the platform of demands for more rapid and consistent development of the relations of socialist self-management in the country. Young people at that time were not satisfied with their leadership bodies, nor indeed with the way the country as a whole was being led. As we know, that rebellion took on undesirable forms before it was over.

Fear

The year 1968, which was a turning point, let the bureaucratic forces know that the political organization of young people was "dangerous," that it "was shaking" the political system to such a degree as to jeopardize it. The thesis emerged, then, that the youth movement as such is "dangerous to society" and that it should be "depoliticized."

In the West they have made a farce of the 1968 young people's movement. They have thrust all the leaders of the young people's and university students' movement into their system, made them directors and managers. They have commercialized rock culture and rock criticism, thereby turning a spontaneous rebellion of young people against the conventions of the consumer society into its opposite.

But reflections in our country at that point went approximately like this: Every form of political organization of young people is illusory. Our young people live in a socialist society, they face problems, but, by God, there is the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations which the young people can belong to. They have their delegates and delegations, so why then do they need a separate youth organization!?

Certainly they were thinking here of political organization of young people. It was felt that it was better to organize them through forms based on interest such as the scouts, the student vacation association, athletics, and let them sing, play instruments and recite, let them be young, beautiful and intelligent, but others will take care of politics. The older and more experienced people will be mindful of matters having to do with class. And then we were told that perhaps in certain party bodies, executive councils, assemblies and forums some commissions ought to be set up for young people's affairs, and the youth organization would be allowed to concern itself with peripheral subject matter. Stated more simply, in a certain sense the youth organization as a political force of young people would be disbanded.

In my opinion that approach is quite operative even today. Its political program suits the holder of power in social relations at this moment, and that is the bureaucracy and the technocracy.

[Question] Spotting precisely this danger of depoliticization of the young generation, in the early seventies the League of Communists tried to set forth a platform for its own work with young people. To what extent was it successful in that?

[Answer] The most important aim of the effort by the League of Communists was for the youth organization to remain a political factor and independent entity in public affairs. Which then led to the platform of the third conference in 1972 concerning formation of the SSO. However, the League of Communists did not take its effort to the end. It stopped in the first phase, that is, in the formal establishment of the organization. Every analysis would show that even 10 years later the youth organization has not managed to become a unified organization, nor has it rallied large numbers, and it has not been an educating influence. Today it has gotten into a situation where it has run aground on problems having to do with the generations and is completely inert and helpless in dealing with those things that are bothering the young generation. It bears some of the blame for the fact that young people have a sense of marginality and of being unable to deal with their own problems as a class and their own social problems.

It is still more disastrous that young people today have no confidence either in themselves as a generation or in the future prospects of society. Following disappointment with the youth organization in the seventies, the opinion became deep-seated that the need for revolutionary commitment would be successfully made up for by going off to join the party. As a consequence of that we have had a very rapid decline in the interest of young people in enrolling in the League of Communists in recent years. The interests of young people under the more stringent socioeconomic conditions of life and work today are not manifested through any form of institutionalized political activity, nor through the delegate system. It would seem that young people today no longer have the confidence in the policy of the League of Communists which they had in the mid-seventies when the youth organization was created. The basic situation for the youth organization leadership bodies at the present time is how and by what means the pent-up need of young people for political action will be resolved. After all, it is an illusion that the youth movement is in and of itself revolutionary.

[Question] How, then, should the youth organization function? Doesn't the key to the entire "paralysis" lie in the fact that at present the basic organizations of the SSO are unable to have an influence on enactment of any decisions of importance in their own communities?

[Answer] So long as young Ivica gets up in a meeting of his entire grade and says: "Comrade teacher, I do not agree," and then she takes him off to the pedagogue and principal, the youth organization will not have any meaning. That is, until there are so many of these young Ivica's that they join forces until it is clear to them that they can achieve their goals as a generation. And to go on, until the youth organization in the factory is able to take part as an active participant in the entire decisionmaking procedure, there is no point wasting words about political organization.

Yet what is the problem? At this moment we have a large gap between the young person's political awareness and the concrete possibility for him to actually be creative in dealing with social problems as an independent entity, that is, to express them in terms of his generation. One of our big problems at this moment is precisely that we do not have organized age groups. For example, we call a meeting in the factory, we even put on the agenda the self-management accord on criteria for allocation of housing, and still the young workers do not come to the meeting. That is, they are aware in advance that their views will not be decisive when that kind of regulation is adopted. The social interest of young people must be satisfied in such a broad and representative way that every form of activity by young people must satisfy even the smallest needs without their feeling the need at the same time to knock on anyone's door in order to realize their goals. In that sense it is an important thesis that we "must attract young people into the organization." We do not need young people as its members, as people who carry their card and come to meetings. What we need are socially active and mobile young people. As a generation we must necessarily create that commitment.

[Question] It would seem that the youth organization is operating today solely through leadership bodies. At the same time we are embittered when we

evaluate the quality of performance and commitment of those same bodies. We would probably oversimplify the problem if we interpreted their failures exclusively in terms of personal incompetence.

[Answer] Although we are continually swearing by the massive and frontal nature of the organization, much within it depends on professionals, because the president and secretary handle most of the work. But at least three-fourths of their work time goes to meetings in the opstina, in the Socialist Alliance and the party, but they are paid for their youth work. That is, they are not there in the organization, they are not working there. They represent the young people in various commissions, working bodies, secretariats, and structural entities--everywhere, that is, where young people are not otherwise present. That position of the youth organization as a "substitute" for the generation itself cannot hold water.

As an organization we cannot act as a substitute for the generation. That is not in the power of the youth organization. It is high time that we drew the limits and said: Excuse me, we are only the youth leadership, not the representatives of the generation! That is, we have to free ourselves of the dictates of authority and of ties to the established structures. Yet we have gotten ourselves in a situation where our leadership bodies are electing other leadership bodies, so that the changes take place within a very restricted circle. And precisely because that is the case, there are numerous examples of manipulation with personnel. That kind of practice is no rarity, not just at the opstina level, but even in the highest forums. It turns out that the centers of decisionmaking concerning personnel are not in the leadership bodies of the youth organization, but somewhere outside. In fact we ourselves contribute to that. No slates with multiple candidates nor any elections will solve the problem if the personnel simply are not there. And personnel can prove themselves only through work. Until we have political action, they will not exist. That is why we can go on choosing and electing as much as we like, but we will never be satisfied with personnel. Of course, I still want to say that we need slates with multiple candidates and secret elections, but then we will also have action and numerous candidates for leading positions in the organization. That is, it is not an accident that in recent years we have fallen to the point where work projects are our only source of personnel. That is the only place where one can examine the work of youth activists. Everything else is improvisation and guesswork and finger-pointing.

Hanging on to the Tail

[Question] There is also a great deal of talk about the weakness and sometimes even of the disunity of the federal youth leadership. How much truth is there in that?

[Answer] It is true that our youth organization is not unified, that our SSOJ has been reduced to the staff or, as the comrades from Slovenia put it, to the "federal youth bureaucracy." This is also indicated by the custom of placing the SSOJ somewhere after the Conference of Women in the protocol. It would certainly be still lower if there were any other sociopolitical organizations.

It should be said that recently not a single effort of broad Yugoslav importance initiated by the SSOJ has been successful. We, too, are divided over the common core in the curricula on the basis of republics and provinces and over many other things as well. And all of that thanks to the tie-up or connection which the youth leadership bodies have with their parent republic or province.

Now that we are talking about the leaders, the situation has come about where their moral virtues become for all practical purposes that mobilizing factor which sets the masses in action. Every leader who is capable of being a normal man represents at this moment something more than any sort of capable bureaucrat. Everyone who does not drive a black limousine, who is not accompanied by chauffeurs and cooks, who is able to communicate directly with people, is winning broad confidence. But isn't that a little thing, such a little thing not to be able to do it at this moment!?

[Question] It has already become the rule that under the veil of an ideological struggle against crime and violations of moral values the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program is being "trampled on" by some of the youth organization leadership bodies and the youth press. Isn't this a repetition of the situation in 1968, when, in the opinion of some economists and historians, the student rebellion was the "drop which made the cup overflow," so that the 1965 economic reform was abandoned?

[Answer] I do not see it exactly that way. I think that the problem is that the young person is not clear at all about what the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program is. I must confess that by its very name it offers something discouraging. That is, to stabilize something that is in need of change at this moment acts as a disincentive. The young person is seeking changes, is seeking a transformation, indeed even an overthrow of the status quo. He does not reject self-management socialism, he acknowledges the basic propositions of the League of Communists, but he denounces this practice in application, since it puts the burden on his back. Consequently, he is not interested in whether there will be full employment in the year 2000, but he is interested in where he is now as a person who has to bring about the conditions so that he can work.

That is why the Long-Range Program in and of itself will not be able to solve anything unless there is a political program for carrying it out, unless there is political mobilization to implement it. Sometimes these things can come into direct conflict with one another. Why should a young person accept the Program if it does not offer him a way out at this moment, if it does not specifically mobilize him to carry out the program. The problem is perhaps that a more consistent identification has not been made between the basic premises of the Program and present problems, either for the individual or large groups. I think that the SSOJ has again been left entirely to one side, instead of using the occasion of the Long-Range Program to initiate a political action for social transformation.

[Question] Critical remarks to the effect that the youth organization is hardly even mentioned in another of our strategic documents, that is, the

proposal of conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, have found a broad response in the public. How realistic is it, then, to expect that young people will participate more vigorously in the entire transformation of society?

[Answer] Yes, we in the SSOJ have noted on several occasions that the proposed version of the conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee mentions the words "young people," "youth" and "the young" only at the end when it goes down the list of who is to do what. At our last conference we said that it is not essential that the concept of the SSO is not mentioned. The essential thing is that at this moment the leadership of the League of Communists recognize young people as that most vital, capable and educated part of the working class, as that part of society with the least burden, which, as recently stated on television by a young man from Rakovica, "has nothing to lose in the struggle for something better." That is, that kind of young generation should be led into the first line of the struggle for further revolutionary changes.

[Box, p 5]

Fishing in Troubled Waters*

At this point we have a lack of action, when there is no effective youth movement, people are fishing in muddy waters where young people are concerned. Many people are involved in that fishing, and many of them unfortunately are bringing in a catch and achieving the goal they have set themselves. It seems interesting to me to point to a specific form of that fishing which is manifested in the characteristic phenomenon of a number of "political mentors," who are very happy to choose as their exponents youth leaders, who, in the absence of a general social action, of unity in action, with no position of their own, and given the gap that exists between the generation and the leadership, very easily become prey to the influence of individuals. I myself have been in such a position and have felt how very easily a man can be deceived, especially when he is offered an approach that seems to be more progressive regardless of whether this is a pseudoleftwing approach or liberalistic approach. That kind of political tutelage, of soul-saving, or of counseling is actually a form of neofraternalism and is often a product of the formation of groups in the struggle for positions, for power.

[Box, pp 6-7]

Democratization in the Croatian Youth Organization: Much Bile Over the Changes

Although it had been very loudly announced, the Republic Conference of the SSOH [Socialist Youth League of Croatia] did not vote on proposed changes within the youth organization some 10 days back. The debate was continued on the motion of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee so as to also cover a sizable number of those communities which because of the short deadlines had not yet taken a position on this important step in democratization

* From an interview with G. Radman published in STUDENTSKI LIST.

of relations. The demand of Stipe Oreskovic, chairman of the Presidium of the SSOH, the delegates from all opstinas and communities of opstinas take a position individually on the changes confirms the importance of the undertaking involved, which goes to the very heart of the political system. The speeches demonstrated that the debate has so far embraced on the average between a third and a half of the basic organizations of the SSO. There was mention of opstinas which since June have done nothing to conduct the debate. That is why it was resolved in the conference that the debate must be taken to the end, and a political platform of changes in the organization will be drafted during the coming month. All sociopolitical organizations from the opstina to the Federation are supposed to be familiarized with this, as suggested by Ivo Druzic of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, since such major changes are not carried out "overnight." Certainly not, and that platform should be analyzed by all the basic organizations of the SSO. Only then will democratic procedure be satisfied, and it will be possible to undertake the final act--the vote.

If the proposal for democratization, which DANAS wrote about extensively in No 123, is adopted, a number of new public organizations and movements will be established, and there would be very significant changes in the electoral mechanism. In addition to multiple candidates for official office in the youth organization at all levels, another innovation would be the conferences concerned with the program and elections; these conferences would figure as the "highest political gathering of young people in the opstina."

We will not reiterate here the changes envisaged, which call for changes and supplements to as much as one-third of the Bylaws of the SSOH. There is in fact no particular dispute over that. What is disturbing, however, is the atmosphere in which this debate is being conducted. The proponents are not exactly showing an excess of patience to listen to those who are carefully and indeed suspiciously examining "what the SSOH is offering." Such people exist not only in isolated opstina leadership bodies, but also in other republics in the country and in the Federal Youth Conference. Many people are referred to offhand as "opponents of democratization," and loquacious individuals, who up to now were said to have something to say about the youth organization, are suddenly becoming true "enemies." This "paranoidal" pattern of the dialogue is only a confirmation of the poor habit of defending democratization (against whom?) with undemocratic methods. The press has also been called to account for allegedly not having been sufficiently affirmative in reporting the process of the changes.

Uncoordinated

It is being "forgotten" here that the Zagreb leadership, at a time when the need for unity of the SSQJ is being emphasized, "leapt forward" with these rather radical plans regardless of the federal agreement on the joint conception and deadlines for the changes. It was evident even toward the end of last year that there was some lack of coordination in relations between the republic leadership and the federal leadership. At that time there were sharply critical objections made to the working version of "democratization of relations in the SSQJ," accompanied by the cynical remark that this text was a

"piece of bureaucratic perfection." This June, to the surprise of other communities, the Presidium of the SSOH offered its own vision of democratization. The federal youth leadership nevertheless took the position that the problems in the organization are so complicated that they cannot be solved "by a single stroke." That is why it will prepare its own platform for the next congress, a platform that will contain the experiences of the young generation and the directions for changes in the political system, which it will attempt to pursue in other segments of society as well. The prevailing opinion in Belgrade is that no attempts at "separate solution," regardless of certain specific features, can succeed until the conditions are created for solving the key issues concerning the position of young people in society. We certainly should expect that the starting point of that platform of the SSOJ would be precisely what is now being debated in Croatia. It would be tendentious, and certainly ridiculous as well, to deny how much good there is in what the Zagreb initiative offers as a lasting solution. It is equally in the interest of the SSOH to have everything which the prevailing opinion judges to be unfeasible subjected to an overall reassessment, since a possible failure would certainly create a still greater apathy than at present.

Among those who are being criticized as opponents of democratization within the SSOH are Goran Radman, chairman of the federal conference. In a recent speech delivered in celebration of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] Day in Zagreb Radman made this statement:

"I think that the proposals for the changes within the SSOH will not yield the planned results because too much use is made of special interests as the key to organization. In this case the goals desired could turn out to be monstrous. No sort of flight outside the key segments will be able to establish a youth organization. No sort of competent nor elite leadership will be able to save an organization if it does not exist where that key interest is centered. And the young person's key interest is where he is working and living, not outside that space.

"So long as youth organizations are not where things are happening and so long as we are drawing young people outside of that circle, we will not have a youth organization. That is that line of demarcation between reality and the scope of the proposed changes. We desire to achieve, for example, the working-class character of the organization, but we will get an elitist intellectualist concept of organization, while at the same time appealing to the working class. We desire to create a firm and well-organized large-scale organization, but we are being led into a situation of having social movements which are tied up and depend in their activity exclusively on the leadership."

Stipe Oreskovic rejects these and similar attitudes concerning the neglect of the class essence of the changes, saying that these are "differing conceptions of socialism and of the position of young people in it":

"We want to make the SSOH more massive and to link together work, education and science. All of those caviling approaches, which exist not only in our ranks, but which also come from other sociopolitical organizations, which tell us in a soul-saving way that we are not capable of this, deny the successes

that have already been achieved. We are at the outset of the debate concerning organization, and we have already managed to establish about 300 operating forms based on specific interests, and more than 50,000 young people have become involved. Do people realize that that number of young people have in this way also been brought into the delegate system?"

It is still too early to judge who is more in the right. However, it is the youth organization itself which loses most through this kind of vitriolic polemics. It is already high time for the republic leadership and federal leadership to sit down together and reach democratic agreement on democratization. It would be wisest if they joined forces and instead of two partial platforms, they drew up one common platform of the changes, which, it seems, are necessarily going to follow.

7045

CSO: 2800/94

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

GRLICKOV MEETS WITH 'ARAFAT--Amman, 26 Nov (TANJUG)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, had a meeting in Amman with Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, who is attending the 17th session of the Palestinian National Council [PNC]. In the course of a prolonged, friendly, and cordial talk, views were exchanged on the current session of the PNC and other important issues relating to the Palestinian people's struggle to realize their legitimate rights. Particular attention was also focused on issues concerning the way in which the struggle by the PLO and the Palestinian people could be adjusted to the altered internal and international conditions. Yasir 'Arafat paid particular tribute to Yugoslavia's support for and assistance to the just struggle of the people of Palestine and the PLO, as its only legitimate representative in the struggle for creating its own independent state. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Nov 84]

TANJUG EDITOR FOR SCIENCE--Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)--Ljubisa Djuric, now a Belgrade TV editor and commentator, was today appointed TANJUG responsible editor for the Socialist Republic of Serbia. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 27 Nov 84 LD]

CSO: 2800/103

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